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ABSTRACT

This publication includes six essays that were presented at the first of three tri-national seminars on diversity issues in higher education. The seminars brought together representatives and observers of higher education from India, South Africa, and the United States to explore the role of higher education in promoting understanding of human differences and challenges and the opportunities it presents to democratic societies. The first three chapters provide an overview of the historical context in which diversity issues are embedded in South Africa, the United States, and India. The next three discuss issues of special relevance to each country: higher education governance in South Africa, faculty development in the United States, and affirmative action in India. Chapters are: (1) "South African Higher Education: Diversity Overview" (Nasima Badsha and Ann Harper); (2) "A Brief Sociohistorical Odyssey of the American University through a Lens of Cultural Diversity" (Troy Duster); (3) "The Dynamics of Diversity and Higher Education: Initiatives and Challenges in the Indian Context" (Jayalakshmi Indiresan); (4) "Governance Arrangements in South African Higher Education" (Rahmat Omar and Brian Figaji); (5) "Faculty Development and Democratic Spaces of Possibility: Building Communities of Knowledge, Inclusion, and Commitment" (Caryn McTighe Musil); and (6) "Affirmative Action Policies in Higher Education: The Indian Experience" (Mool Chand Sharma). (All chapters contain references and/or endnotes.) (SM)

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DIVERSITY, DEMOCRACY, AND

HIGHER EDUCATION

A View From
Three Nations



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Diversity, Democracy, and Higher Education: A View from Three Nations

India ■ South Africa ■ The United States

Edited by Edgar F. Beckham

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
Washington, D.C.

This publication is made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation. The volume is one of three in a series drawn from seminars planned through the collaboration of three international educational associations:

The Educational Resources Trust (ERC) in India

The Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) in South Africa and

The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) in the United States

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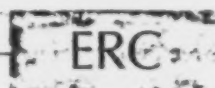
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THE THREE SPONSORING EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE TRI-NATIONAL SEMINAR

Each of the three associations worked collaboratively throughout a four-year period, coordinated the delegates from their respective countries, and continue to function as the point of contact for follow-up activities. In 1997, the Educational Resources Centre (ERC) played the primary role in organizing the seminar in India; in 1998, the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) played that role for the seminar in South Africa; and in 1999, the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) was the principal organizer for the seminar in the United States.



The Educational Resources Centre Trust (ERC), a nonprofit Trust registered in India, promotes the understanding of India, its people, and culture through educational programs and teaching materials. The aims of the Centre are to develop study materials for high school and undergraduate courses, provide resource materials for researchers and college faculty, and organize teacher workshops and seminars.

ERC also plans and administers orientation programs, study tours, field experiences, and intercultural programs for educational groups from India and abroad. In addition, it provides administrative and consultant services to Indian universities and colleges, and international agencies in curriculum development and teacher training programs. Within India and outside its borders, ERC networks with intellectual groups and institutions with similar aims and ideals to foster partnerships for intercultural understanding.

Since 1995, ERC has administered the Ford Foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative in India.

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CHET

The Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET) is a non-governmental agency committed to systematic transformation of higher education in South Africa.

CHET's activities are divided into three program areas. The Management program promotes leadership and management capacity development for specific higher education constituencies, including senior administrators, students, women, council members, and student services staff. The Debates program provides a forum for the exploration of current issues in higher education, with a specific focus on curriculum restructuring and individual case studies of institutional change. The Research & Evaluation program is developing indicators to measure and assess change at selected institutions. Diversity, conflict resolution, and gender are three crosscutting issues that underpin CHET's work in all three program areas.

CHET also encourages cooperation among the constituencies of South African higher education by providing a forum for their interaction.

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AAC&U

The Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), founded in 1915, is the leading national non-governmental association devoted to promoting liberal learning and to keeping the quality of student learning at the core of the mission of colleges and universities. AAC&U aims to improve undergraduate education through curriculum and faculty development projects, research and publications, on-line resources, national and regional meetings and workshops, and multicampus partnerships and networks. Its activities build bridges across disciplines and forge links between administrators, faculty members, and other members of the academic community.

AAC&U exerts a powerful influence on higher education by shaping national dialogue around central purposes and works to help both students and the larger society discover meaningful connections between the knowledge, values, and skills developed in college and the democratic capacity, humanity, and sustainability of our shared world.

AAC&U's current priorities are mobilizing collaborative leadership for educational and institutional effectiveness; building faculty capacity in the context of institutional renewal; strengthening curricula to serve student and societal needs; establishing diversity as an educational and civic resource; and fostering global engagement in a diverse and connected world.

AAC&U's institutional membership includes nearly 700 public and private colleges and universities of all types and sizes.

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PREFACE

The six essays in this volume were presented at the first of three tri national seminars on diversity issues in higher education. The seminars brought together representatives and observers of higher education in India, South Africa, and the United States to explore the role of higher education in promoting understanding of human diversity and the challenges and opportunities it presents to democratic societies. The first seminar, which took place in India in January 1997, was sponsored by the Educational Resources Centre. The second, in which a delegation from Brazil also participated, was held in South Africa in March 1998, under the auspices of the Centre for Higher Education Transformation. The third, sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and Universities, took place in the United States in October 1999. The seminars were funded by the Ford Foundation.

The idea for the seminar series emerged out of the foundation's Campus Diversity Initiative (CDI), a grant-making program that began in the United States in 1990. In 1995, a parallel initiative was launched in India. The beginnings of the two programs were remarkably similar. In both cases, it was foundation trustees who expressed concern about intergroup tensions on college and university campuses in their respective countries. The trustees feared that recent gains in making higher education more accessible and inclusive would be eroded. They asked the staff of the New York and New Delhi offices of the foundation to explore the feasibility of interventions that would encourage a more creative response by the respective higher education communities to the challenge of diversity.

While the interventions were thematically similar, they responded to quite different national circumstances, and the foundation was careful to construct programs that reflected national needs. In each country, consultants from the higher education community were asked to assess the needs, and their findings were vetted by a panel of local experts.

At the same time, there was consultation back and forth between the two national initiatives. The first occurred in October 1994 when three representatives from India attended the fourth annual conference of the U.S. initiative in Tucson. The following year a somewhat larger group attended the fifth conference in Philadelphia. They were joined by a delegation from South Africa representing that country's interest in exploring the feasibility of creating a similar initiative. The delegations from the three countries met for the first time at a workshop held just prior to the Philadelphia conference. At the workshop they described the national historical circumstances that made diversity

an issue in their respective countries, and began to explore their shared aspiration to achieve a transformed system of higher education more reflective of each nation's democratic values.

The discourse that began in the pre-conference workshop was eventually formalized in the first tri-national seminar in India. The meeting had three components. The first was the formal seminar, held in Manesar, in the State of Haryana, about a two-hour's drive from New Delhi. The second was a public symposium in New Delhi, and the third comprised site visits by the delegates to several campuses that were participating in India's Campus Diversity Initiative.

David Arnold, the Ford Foundation's representative in India, opened the formal seminar in Manesar by describing its threefold purpose: to increase knowledge and understanding of the educational challenges and opportunities presented to democratic societies by the multiple forms of human diversity; to exchange insights into how higher education institutions and systems can respond to the challenges and embrace the opportunities; and to use the seminar papers to illuminate issues of diversity and democracy in different educational systems operating in different national settings. He described the seminar as a pioneering effort to take a deliberately comparative look at the issues.

The papers are arranged in this volume in the order of their presentation at the seminar. The first three provide an overview of the historical context in which diversity issues are embedded in South Africa, the United States, and India. Each of the second set of three takes up an issue of special relevance to each country: higher education governance in South Africa, faculty development in the United States, and affirmative action in India.

The first three discussion sessions focused on the overview papers. Each author made brief comments that were followed by open discussion. The treatment of the topical papers was more extensive. Following opening remarks by the author(s), a discussant from each of the other two countries responded to the paper by relating the topic to the discussant's country. Open discussion followed.

In addition to the twenty-eight national delegates (ten from South Africa and eight each from the United States and India), participants in the seminar included additional representatives from the Indian higher education community and staff from the Educational Resources Centre and the Ford Foundation. The public symposium in New Delhi was moderated by former Supreme Court Chief Justice P.N. Bhagwati, who also chaired the national advisory group of the Indian CDI. At the symposium, participants in the seminar summarized its deliberations.

Alison Bernstein, then-director of the Ford Foundation's Education and Culture Program and now the foundation's vice president for education, media, arts and culture,

was the first person to suggest that India, South Africa, and the United States should begin a discussion of diversity issues in higher education. She also secured the financial resources for the first seminar and made a commitment to fund two more. Her active support throughout the planning process contributed greatly to the success of the venture.

David Arnold, who was the Ford Foundation's representative in New Delhi, and is now executive vice president of the International Institute for Education, and Sharada Nayak, managing trustee of the Educational Resources Centre Trust, led the planning effort for the seminar in India. They were ably assisted by S. Chellani, Sheila Joshi, Ramesh Krishnan, Siddhartha Sivaramakrishnan, Neera Sood, Fatima Al Talib, and other members of the Ford Foundation staff in New Delhi, and by volunteers Charlotte Singh and Davinder Singh. They organized and implemented the events, managed the logistics, and provided for the sustenance and entertainment of the participants. The Association of American Colleges and Universities, under the guidance of Caryn McTighe Musil, vice president for Education and Diversity Initiatives, served as the seminar's fiscal agent.

Richard Fehnel, the foundation's interim representative for Southern Africa, made it possible for South African delegates to participate in the meetings leading up to the seminar. He contributed to the planning of the seminar itself and led the final session on public policy issues.

The principals of three colleges offered the hospitality of their institutions to the delegates and planned a series of activities for their site visits: Dr. E. S. Charles, Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh; Dr. Mubarak Pasha, Farook College, Calicut, Kerala, and Dr. K. B. Patil, Jai Hind College, Dhule, Maharashtra. Dr. M. A. Varghese, Vice Chancellor of Srimati Nathibai Damodar Thackersay Women's University, Mumbai, Maharashtra, hosted a group on two of her university's campuses.

Lisa Bernstein, Suzanne Hyers, Maria Maisto, Caryn McTighe Musil, Bridget Puzon, Marcia Shenk and Julie Warren shepherded this volume through the process of editing and production. Their patience, perseverance, dedication, and discernment were invaluable.

To these named individuals, and to the many unnamed who supported their efforts we owe a deep debt of gratitude. We also offer our sincere thanks to the Ford Foundation for its generous support of the seminars, which included funds for the publication of this volume.

EDGART H. CLEMM

Introduction

October 1994, more than two years before the first seminar occurred, there was a fruitful exchange between an American and an Indian at the Campus Diversity Initiative's fourth annual conference in Tucson. The American, Associate Professor of Sociology and Chicano Studies Jose Calderón of Pitzer College, told the audience a story of his life, growing up in rural poverty in Mexico, eventually coming to the United States, learning a new language, discovering layers of identity through the years, and eventually achieving an empowering and enriching level of comfort with himself, his peoples, and his past. The Indian, Professor of Law Mool Chand Sharma of Delhi University, responded from the audience that he found Professor Calderón's story particularly poignant because it so closely paralleled his own. For he, too, was a child of rural poverty who had migrated to the city, where he mastered a new language and developed a richer and more empowering self-understanding. Professors Calderón and Sharma established an immediate bond, and many others in the audience bonded to their stories. The similarities were compelling, and it made the assembled campus diversity practitioners mindful that commonality could be discovered through attention to diversity.

Over time, we who knew the stories well and got to know them better began to understand that there were also compelling distinctions between them. Calderón's migration had been transnational, while Sharma's had unfolded entirely within India. Calderón had crossed a powerfully constructed and fiercely defended national border that influenced the way he saw himself and the way others saw him. The borders Sharma had crossed were also powerful and well defended, but they were of a different character and required the application of metaphor to be seen as borders at all. It was also the case that though both had been born into poverty, Sharma's social status was also influenced by his membership in the Brahmin caste, Calderón's by his national origin, which had one valence on one side of the border, a different one on the other side.

The stories of Calderón and Sharma illustrate both the promise and the complexity of diversity. On the one hand, they demonstrate the ease with which people of good will can discern those features of their common human experience and on which they can build an enduring unity. At the same time, the stories reveal how differently we configure human experience from place to place, from culture to culture, from person to

person, and how much our appreciation of these differences contributes to our understanding of ourselves and others, of the cultures and communities in which we participate.

The stories also suggest that in the concept of diversity, difference and commonality, understood respectively as the measure of our individuality and the necessary condition of unity, coexist, as though each were an aspect of the other. They are simultaneous rather than sequential, revealing themselves in layers of perception that oscillate between difference and commonality, with each oscillation expanding our capacity to use analysis of difference and synthesis of the whole as complementary functions of understanding.

The readers of these essays may find it useful to keep in mind that in each of the three democracies represented, there are attempts underway to use diversity to produce simultaneously a deeper appreciation of differences that matter and a stronger commitment to the unity that is essential to civil society. In each country the attempts are fraught with controversy. In India the politicization of differences of caste and religion threatens to distract the nation from the constitutional impulse toward unity. In South Africa, where the notion of diversity was used during apartheid to justify the separation of racial groups and the maintenance of the cruelest oppressions, the term itself, as a consequence, is suspect. In the United States, though the majority of citizens accept the country's growing diversity as an inevitability that needs to be used as an asset, others still argue that diversity divides the country by focusing on differences.

Despite these controversies, all the papers, and indeed, the seminar itself, imply that appreciation of difference is the only route to unity; indeed, in diversity, unity is the difference that difference makes. As Dr. Suma Chitnis, moderator of the opening discussion at the seminar observed, diversity causes problems, but it also produces riches.

In her opening comments as co-author of the South African overview paper, Nasima Badsha described the South African system of higher education as historically "highly fractured," as might be expected in a system shaped by apartheid. In fact, she questioned whether it had been a system at all. In her subsequent remarks it became clear that she, like her co-author Ann Harper, believed it essential that the non-system become a system, that national planning was of paramount importance. This sharp distinction—between what *had been* and what now *must be*—gave the South African overview paper a distinctive cast. The end of apartheid marked a pivotal point in history from which an observer could either look forward or look backward. Any attempt at a combined point of view ran the risk of burdening the future with the political baggage of the past.

The use of the term "diversity" was a case in point. Since it had been used in the apartheid past to justify separate development of groups and thus to entrench existing

patterns of domination, it was suspect, along with such terms as "pluralism" and "multiculturalism." They all signaled an emphasis on division, when what was clearly needed was unity. On the other hand, apartheid had created real divisions that had in turn produced hideous social consequences. Emphasis on unity might overlook these consequential differences. The problem was described at times as a dilemma, at times as a double bind.

Two solutions, or at least approaches, were proffered in the overview essay. One was to seize the opportunities expected to be advanced in several months by the South African government in its White Paper, a final response to the Report of the National Commission on Higher Education. The government had instructed the national commission to study South African higher education and outline the steps that would be needed to transform the system into one that would respond to the needs and promote the aspirations of a democratic, non-racial South Africa. The commission's report had been followed by a Green Paper that gave an initial indication of the direction the government's recommendations might take. The government was now expected to specify its policy intentions in its White Paper. The second approach was through discourse that might move the discussion of diversity into the mainstream and thus help to make it central to the educational mission of higher education institutions.

By contrast, the American overview paper described a more evolutionary journey from past to present. There was no sudden pivot. The paper could be interpreted as suggesting that Americans would do well to understand their present diversity challenges in terms of a past marked by a series of transitions. The transitions led to the current challenges, anticipated them, perhaps even prefigured them. Each transition could be construed as an expansion of the country's appreciation of its diversity, even though progress was not always steady and was marred by persistent prejudice and overt discrimination. This may help to explain why campus diversity practitioners in the United States seem to have a somewhat easier time with the language of diversity. They live in a nation whose national motto is *e pluribus unum*, and where the Constitution insists on strict separation of church and state. Notions of "diversity," "cultural pluralism," and "multiculturalism" all have currency, and are regularly used interchangeably, or sometimes all together, so as to cover all likely bets.

The Indian overview paper represents a third variation. Here there are two significant historical events. The first, described against the background of a timeless Indian appreciation and tolerance of its rich diversity, is a recent, sudden, and unexpected politicization of group identity that has produced violence and turned diversity into an urgent social problem. The other is the advent of the Campus Diversity Initiative, a relatively modest intervention that nonetheless may offer useful strategies for addressing the problem.

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Each of the overview papers locates the challenges of diversity in an historical context specific to the country; that lends them an aura of commonality. But the uses of history are quite different from paper to paper, which makes the papers much more challenging. It also made the delegates from the other countries more deferential, more inclined to ask informational questions and to use the seminar as an occasion for learning.

The topical papers that followed represented a significant turning point in the seminar. Each was, in a dual sense, more "practical" than the overview papers. For example, the South African paper on institutional governance had the practical effect of extending the pivotal point into an historical line by transforming it, narratively and analytically, into the story of political struggle over how institutions of higher education, notably universities and technikons, would be governed in the future. As Badsha and Harper had suggested in their South African overview paper, it is simultaneously the diversity story and the institutional transformation story; the story of how insistent stakeholders will be accommodated in the resistant governance structures of higher education and the story of how the structures will change.

The topical papers are practical in a second sense in that they gave the seminar participants a purchase from which to compare and contrast their higher education systems, primarily in terms of structure, but also in terms of programmatic activities. For example, an American respondent to the governance paper observed that, given the high level of autonomy enjoyed by American colleges and universities, responses to campus diversity would be essentially local rather than national. The Indian discussant, on the other hand, described the Indian system as so centralized and rigid that attempts to promote change were obstructed and diluted. South Africa seemed to be in the middle: It was possible to discuss national strategies for higher education, but institutions would work assiduously to protect their autonomy.

The topical papers also resulted in a series of imperatives issued by the seminar participants:

- A strong educational system that focuses on access and excellence must be the cornerstone of democracy.
- We must reach out beyond the walls of the institution and engage our wider communities.
- The debate over quality can turn on itself and encourage colleges and universities to become pale imitations of high-status institutions rather than to define their own missions.

- Diversity is not new. What's new is the relationship of differences to each other.
- A collaborative relationship with government is compatible with institutional autonomy.
- We must involve primary and secondary education as well as tertiary institutions.
- The impetus for diversity work reflects interaction between the state and civil society. When the state appears to renege on its commitment to diversity, there is an opportunity for the committed to hold the state to its promises.
- Diversity includes working to redress the disadvantages resulting from differences in power and position within hierarchies.
- Faculty need to be more involved in defining institutional mission. Institutions must be imbued with democratic values.
- Diversity cannot end with the curriculum, with numbers, or with resolution of access issues. It's also about ethos.
- Universities need to become more collegial, less hierarchical.
- The politicization of caste and religion can be disastrous for higher education.

The first topical paper was introduced by its author, Caryn McTighe Musil. She used the opportunity to connect earlier discussions to the theme of diversity and democracy. She saw faculty development as a strategy for furthering the democratization of education in diverse democratic societies. She sensed that democratization of education was on the agenda in all three countries for differing historical reasons, all having to do with a growing awareness of the challenges and opportunities related to diversity. Diversity, she said, tests democracy.

But, if faculty development is a means of tapping into the new vitality produced by broader access to education, how, asked a participant, do we motivate the faculty to take responsibility for diversity education? The single answer came from several sources: Diversity work in education can produce electric moments that make faculty and students come alive. The task is to exploit these moments to build pockets of empowerment and platforms for action. In highlighting some points made in the paper, Musil

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sought to underscore the feasibility of building momentum among faculty for the larger task of using diversity to democratize education.

The discussion of the paper on faculty development highlighted another set of contrasts among the countries, but there was broad agreement that faculty development efforts were essential. As the discussion progressed, the connection between faculty development and the content of the curriculum became more apparent and urgent. It also became clear that locating responsibility for the curriculum was a contentious issue, especially in India and South Africa. Whereas most Americans would have assigned the responsibility to the faculty of each institution, there was more controversy in the other two countries about the role of other stakeholders, with the national government prominent among them.

But, in the course of the discussion, there occurred a remarkable sequence of individual comments in the course of which every constituency associated with higher education—all the stakeholders, including faculty, students, staff, the community, and even the shapers of national policy—were mentioned as legitimate repositories of responsibility for the curriculum. Ironically, it was a South African delegate who observed that the issue is ultimately one of balance and accountability. The Americans seemed quite reluctant to challenge the local faculty's control of the curriculum, while the Indians seemed skeptical of efforts to resist central control. The South Africans, on the other hand, seemed optimistic at least about the possibility of a process of negotiation through which balance and accountability might be achieved.

If the delegates were deferential in their discussion of the overview papers, and if they gained momentum and assertiveness in their engagement of the first two topical papers, then it goes without saying that they peaked in their discussion of affirmative action, or, as it is called in India, the policy of reservations. This discussion was the most heated (though completely civil), and the most emotional. One reason is obvious. In each of the three countries the issue was a matter of current controversy that was expected to become more, not less contentious. South Africans spoke of the need to transform the affirmative action impulse into legislation that would force change.

Americans described the mounting challenge to affirmative action by the courts and in referenda in Texas, California, Washington, and Michigan. And Indians debated the difficulties of implementing a system of reservations in a manner that produced positive social outcomes and minimized dysfunction.

Sharma's articulate and impassioned advocacy of affirmative action stimulated a lively discussion. This, despite the fact that participants from South Africa and the United States had to overcome their discomfort with the term "backward" as applied to scheduled castes and tribes. Sharma made it clear that in his judgment, Indian affirmative

action had not gone far enough, and that he found the Indian Supreme Court's management of the judicial review process enlightened.

Sharma also agreed with the observation that a successful program of affirmative action requires political will and high-quality leadership. In addition, he agreed that those who favor affirmative action must argue its benefits to society and make clear that the inclusion of those who have been excluded will, in the long run, expand resources and opportunities. The discussion of affirmative action was the most difficult, the most stimulating, and perhaps the most rewarding.

In the final session on the third day, Richard Fehnel led the group in an examination of public policy implications of what they had discussed. He defined policy as authoritative statements by governing bodies that prescribe social goals, provide guidelines for conduct, and allocate resources. He analyzed the functional influences on policy formulation, including the setting of new goals, the expression of preferences among cause and effect relationships that are relevant to the goals, the distribution of authority among those in different policy levels, and the identification and assessment of the means for producing the desired impact. He summarized key diversity issues that had surfaced in the discussion, including some, like the financing of diversity work, that had received scant mention. He then divided the seminar into five groups and asked each to perform two tasks:

1. Identify and prioritize the diversity issues in higher education that should be addressed.
2. List the activities that should be undertaken to promote deeper understanding and action on the priority issues.

In the group reports, Group 1 assigned the highest priority to access, defined as including formal education, on-the-job training, adult education, distance education, continuing education, and the accrediting of work experiences. It also listed articulation among systems, the curriculum, faculty development, governance issues, and institutional ethos, especially regarding the role of universities in society.

Group 2 also listed access first, followed by faculty development, disparities among institutions, achieving a stable definition of "diversity," affirmative action, addressing the contribution of diversity to excellence, systematic assessment of diversity outcomes at all educational levels, and consideration of single-sex education.

Group 3 listed diversity among institutional types first, and called for a reexamination of single-sex education. It also listed the financing of higher education, especially as

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it relates to student access. In addition, it included issues of student and faculty access, linking the latter to faculty and curriculum development.

Group 4 urged that diversity be construed as a matter of public policy and public communication, with an emphasis on communicating the effects of diversity to the broadest public. The group called for more study of the social relevance of diversity. It also urged better communication and articulation among learning systems as a way of facilitating life-long learning. And finally, it asked for a new definition of "the nation," noting that "assimilation" was a failed policy and that the inclusion of historically excluded groups would benefit society.

Group 5 deviated from the guideline and listed what it felt was needed to advance the diversity agenda:

- Creation, through research and dissemination, of more knowledge about diversity in each country
- Development of a human resource base of diversity experts
- Adequate financing
- Informing educational leaders and internal and external stakeholders about the challenges of diversity.

In response to the second assignment, which asked the groups to identify activities that should be undertaken, Group 1 urged that a buffer body between the Ministry of Education and educational institutions establish performance criteria. It also identified a National Qualifications Framework as a mechanism for accrediting individual courses of study and entire institutions, while noting that such a framework would be resisted by institutions. Thirdly, it recommended the establishment in South Africa of a Higher Education Quality Council that would evaluate curricula, using relevance and social need as criteria.

Group 2 focused on expanding access to faculty and staff positions. The goal would be to use research to identify obstacles and then to publicize the information. The group also advocated the creation of teams of roving experts who would focus on faculty development.

Group 3 urged seminar participants to help others conceptualize diversity in ways that would encourage people to pay attention to it. In their judgment, the seminar needed to synthesize what had been learned and encourage discussion back home. They added that South Africa has a special obligation to bring specific diversity projects to life.

Group 4 recommended the involvement of the private sector, especially on the topic of how workers interact. The group further recommended strategic exchanges among the three countries.

Group 5 recommended a set of collaborative multinational activities that included a diversity fellowship or exchange program, cross-national research projects on diversity issues, international workshops on curriculum and faculty development, and support for central agencies in each country that can link to each other and also help to mainstream diversity issues and practices. The group also recommended that the campus diversity website, DiversityWeb, and other campus diversity resources be shared with India and South Africa, and that training programs for diversity advocates be established in each country.

As the seminar closed, Richard Fehnel, who had moderated the session, expressed the hope that the delegates would find ways to pursue elements of the ambitious policy objectives they had generated.

When the final session closed, the delegates prepared to board a bus that would transport them back to New Delhi to attend the Public Symposium, celebrate Republic Day, and embark upon their site visits to several institutions around the country. They had worked hard to understand each other's challenges, both in terms of particularities and similarities. They had used what they learned as an occasion to reflect on their own circumstances, and had also considered ways to bring their new knowledge of the struggles in other countries to colleagues back home.

All agreed that the tri-national conversation should continue, that the first iteration had laid the groundwork by providing an historical context for the complex processes occurring in each country, and by focusing on a single strategic issue associated with each.

The second seminar, entitled *Diversity and Unity: the Role of Higher Education in Building Democracy*, would build on this foundation by addressing in much greater depth the conceptual material that the first seminar had assumed or merely touched on. The concepts of diversity and identity were addressed rigorously, and their intersections with notions of culture were critically examined. The theme of globalization, introduced and reinforced at critical points throughout the second seminar, raised the level of discourse to the global plane, where new challenges were discovered, reminiscent of, but different from their domestic variations. The volume containing the papers and reflections from the second seminar bears the same title as the seminar, *Diversity and Unity: the Role of Higher Education in Building Democracy*.

The third seminar was being planned at the time of this writing. It will feature a major paper jointly written by an author from each of the three countries, and a topical paper on each of three topics: affirmative action (India), curriculum transformation

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(South Africa), and creating climates of engagement (United States). It will begin in Tarrytown, New York, and include a daylong symposium hosted by the City College of New York. The delegates will then travel to Albuquerque, where they will participate in *Diversity, Democracy, and Social Responsibility: A Global Symposium*, sponsored by the Association of American Colleges and Universities. They will conclude their activities with a report on their deliberations to the national conference *Educating All of One Nation*, sponsored by the American Council on Education, in conjunction with the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges and Universities, the Educational Testing Service, and the National Association of College Admission Counseling.

The six essays that follow illuminate the enormous potential of discourse on diversity to identify and respond to the greatest challenge confronting a democracy, the challenge of deriving its fullest meaning from the full participation of its people in the construction of that meaning. That the meaning must be both private and shared, individual and communal, makes the challenge all the more daunting, intellectually and practically. While the essays offer no pat solutions, they do put on display the thoughtful and courageous efforts of people in three nations to struggle toward a great goal shared in common.

South African Higher Education: Diversity Overview

1

Section I of this paper, by Nasima Badsha, provides an overview of diversity issues in higher education, such as student and staff access and success in terms of race, gender, and institutional types, and is presented against the legacy of apartheid and the proposed massification of the higher education system. It also discusses some of the diversity issues facing higher education. Section II, by Ann Harper, deals with aspects of the diversity debate at the institutional level in the context of diversity as legislated under apartheid. It also provides some guidelines and principles for future diversity programs.

SECTION I: DIVERSITY OVERVIEW

Introduction

South African higher education has been the focus of much local and international attention during recent years. This attention has resulted from the unique policy process put into place by the new government to shape the restructuring of South Africa's higher education system in line with the government's commitment to a program of reconstruction and development. In February 1995, the president established the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) which completed its final report, *A Framework for Transformation* (the NCHE Report), in August 1996. An important feature of NCHE's mode of operation was the involvement of all the major stakeholders in higher education in formulating policy through national and regional consultative forums, submissions, hearings, and a highly participatory research process. A much-contested discussion, the document generated stakeholder responses to NCHE's emerging policy framework, which in turn assisted NCHE in shaping its final report. The NCHE Report was followed by the release, in December 1996, of the *Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation* (hereafter referred to as the *Green Paper*) which signals the policy directions of the government. The tabling in parliament of a *White Paper* setting out the legislative framework for transformation of South African higher education followed in mid-1997, after a process of public consultation on the *Green Paper*.

The following overview of South African higher education is presented in the context of this policy process. Higher education is defined as the learning programs that lead to the award of a qualification more advanced than the further education certificate on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), i.e. after seventeen years of schooling.

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The newly established South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) is developing the NQF, which will likely comprise a ladder of education and training levels spanning general, further, and higher education.

This paper will first provide a broad description of the shape, size, and composition of higher education, with a focus on students and staff. Much of the data used in describing the system originates from NCHE. Second, the paper will explore proposals for the massification of higher education in the context of the broader transformation of higher education in South Africa. NCHE defines massification as the process through which participation in higher education has both increased and widened, moving away from an elite system that caters to a few individuals from privileged classes to a mass system for larger numbers of students recruited from more diverse social backgrounds.

Third, the paper will briefly touch on some of the challenges that higher education in South Africa needs to confront in order to respond to the needs of increasing numbers of students from diverse backgrounds as well as of a changing staff. These challenges will be explored more fully in Section II.

The Structure of Higher Education

To a large extent, apartheid ideology has molded the composition, shape, and size of the South African higher education system. For almost half a century, all education in the country was divided along racial and ethnic lines, effectively excluding black people from quality academic education and technical training. The Extension of University Education Act of 1953 formally restricted entry to universities according to race and paved the way for racially and ethnically based universities intended to serve the needs of the "separate development" policy at the core of apartheid ideology. The apartheid higher education legacy ultimately comprised twenty-one universities (including two distance-learning institutions), fifteen technikons (including one distance-learning institution) developed since 1978 to promote vocational training, and about 140 single-discipline, vocational colleges (education, nursing, and agriculture). All were (and in varying degrees continue to be) differentiated along racial lines. This is the origin of the terms "historically black" and "historically white" to describe higher education institutions in South Africa. Many of the Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) are located in more remote parts of the country; these locations contribute to the difficulty that an HBI experiences in attracting and retaining well-qualified staff. Inequalities between institutional types are complex, and the limitations of the present paper do not allow for a rigorous discussion of the origins and consequences of these inequalities.

Public expenditure on higher education in South Africa in 1995-96 amounted to 1.2 percent of gross domestic product, a figure that compares well by international stan-

South African Higher Education: Diversity Overview

dards. Between 63 and 73 percent of the income of universities in 1993 originated from government subsidy and tuition fee income, with the balance coming from donations, investments, grants, and contracts. However, income levels have not kept pace with the growth rate in enrollments, which during 1991-95 was 8 percent per year for higher education; there is growing pressure on the institutions to increase enrollment without increased resources. By 1997, all but four of South Africa's universities were funded at a level of 59 percent of the funds generated by the subsidy formula; this represents significant budgetary shortfalls for most institutions.

Table 1 shows the headcount enrollment in higher education in 1995 and illustrates what has been described as an inverted pyramid, i.e. enrollment figures for students in the colleges, technikons (technical colleges and universities), and universities are inversely proportional to patterns seen in many other countries.

Table 1

	TOTAL HEADCOUNTS	PERCENT
Agricultural colleges	1,930	0.20
Technical colleges	52,230	6.20
Private colleges	147,645	17.00
Education colleges	97,947	11.30
Nursing colleges	9,783	1.10
Technikons	179,801	20.07
Universities	380,184	43.70
TOTALS	869,610	100.00

Source: *A Framework for Transformation* (NCHE)

Formal state policy has been to establish and maintain functional boundaries between the universities, technikons, and colleges, despite the fact that this policy has proven difficult to implement. Higher education in South Africa has therefore not been conceptualized or planned as a coherent system. Although recent changes in funding have brought universities and technikons under a similar framework, separate qualification structures still exist in universities and technikons.

The following sections will outline some of the features that characterize higher education in South Africa. The focus on student and staff access and on universities and

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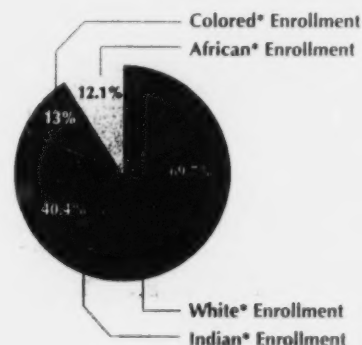
technikons is intended to highlight the inequalities and inefficiencies present in South African higher education while simultaneously highlighting the system's growing diversity.

Student Access and Success

Despite significant increases in the enrollment of black students during the period between 1986 and 1993—a period characterized by radical political change in the country—the student composition of universities and technikons continued to mirror the legacy of apartheid. Figure A shows gross participation rates by race.

Figure A: South Africa's Gross Higher Education Participation Rates by Race (1993)

RACE*	ENROLLMENT
White	69.7%
Indian	40.4%
Colored	13%
African	12.1%



* An official designation under apartheid

Source: *A Framework for Transformation* (NCHE)

For Whites and Indians, the participation rates compare favorably to many advanced industrialized countries, but the rates for Africans and Coloreds are closer to those of developing countries. Furthermore, this picture needs to be understood in light of the skewed distribution of students in higher education. The majority of black (Indian, colored, and African) students continue to be enrolled at the historically black and distance-learning institutions, while most white students study at the historically white, contact institutions, which are better endowed, especially in terms of their research and postgraduate capacity.

Table 2 shows enrollment percentages in universities and technikons in 1993, by race and institutional type.

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Table 2: Enrollment Percentages in Universities and Technikon by Race and Institutional Type (1993)

CONTACT UNIVERSITIES & TECHNIKONS	AFRICAN	COLORED	INDIAN	WHITE	TOTAL
Historically White	13%	28%	24%	62%	39%
Historically Black	44%	39%	34%	1%	22%
Distance Universities & Technikons	43%	33%	42%	37%	39%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: *A Framework for Transformation* (NCHE)

Much of the growth in the enrollment of black students has been concentrated at the HBLs and distance institutions—the very institutions that lack the capacity, and, in many instances, the resources to deal with the needs of students who, as a consequence of poor schooling backgrounds, are ill-prepared for the demands of higher education. Most students at the contact institutions are enrolled for full-time study. In addition, the higher concentration of black students at the HBLs and distance institutions has a significant impact on the types and levels of programs to which black students have access. Much of the focus at the HBLs has been on undergraduate diplomas and degrees in the broad fields of the arts, humanities, and education. In 1993, only about 20 percent of students registered for courses in the natural sciences were enrolled at HBLs. As a result, black students have been poorly represented in the natural sciences, engineering, and technology, as well as at postgraduate levels. This phenomenon has also contributed to shortages of qualified personnel in key areas of trade and industry.

The outputs of South African higher education also reflect the system's inequalities and inefficiencies. Table 3 compares the output of graduates from the HBLs with those of the historically white institutions (HWIs) in 1986 and 1993 and reflects the concentration at the HBLs of more junior level programs.

Table 3: Outputs of Graduates by University Type (1986 and 1993)

	HBIs		HWIs	
	1986	1993	1986	1993
Undergraduate diplomas	2,271	5,453	1,032	730
Undergraduate degrees	2,695	5,341	13,511	17,792
Postgraduate diplomas plus bachelor's degrees	752	1,440	3,931	4,104
Honors degrees	300	636	3,495	4,755
Master's degrees	89	161	2,215	2,970
Doctoral degrees	15	33	447	543
TOTAL	6,122	13,064	24,631	30,894

Source: *A Framework for Transformation* (NCHE)

In 1993, 49 percent of student enrollments at universities were female. While this indicates that gender inequalities are not as stark as racial inequalities, low female participation rates are most prevalent in the physical sciences, engineering, and technology. In particular, a significant proportion of African women are enrolled for part-time studies in education, languages, the social sciences, and humanities at the two distance-learning universities, UNISA and VISTA, which have a history of low throughput rates. Gender inequalities are also more marked in technikons; in 1993, only 30 percent of these students were women.

Significant disparities exist in levels of academic preparation for higher education among incoming students. The majority of colored and African students enter higher education from disadvantaged schools that do not adequately prepare them for the traditional starting levels of higher education programs. Many students have not had an adequate opportunity in school to develop their general academic skills and knowledge base, particularly in key areas such as mathematics and the physical sciences. The resulting gulf between the demands of higher education, which often continue to be based on assumptions about starting levels that no longer hold for most entrants, and the academic preparedness of students, produces low rates of student success. In South African higher education, educational disadvantage is a majority phenomenon.

Disparities in language-skill acquisition is a significant problem. English and Afrikaans have been the official languages of instruction in higher education. The HWIs have been divided into English-, Afrikaans-, or dual-medium institutions, while the majority of HBIs have been either English- or dual-medium. In more recent years, there have been small but significant increases in African student enrollments at Afrikaans-medium institutions. Accordingly, the use of English as the medium of instruction has increased, although, in most instances, institutional policy statements have not formally articulated this shift.

English is now the medium of instruction at most higher education institutions in South Africa. Although a detailed analysis of the first language of students enrolled in higher education is not available, it can be assumed that the vast majority of African students are studying in a language other than their first language, since English is the second or even third language for most African students. For those students coming from the state school system, the switch from instruction in their first language to instruction in English occurs during the fifth year of schooling. Some educators argue that this switch happens before children have been given the opportunity to adequately consolidate basic academic competencies using their first language; as a result, the skills and knowledge base of many pupils is fragile and impedes subsequent learning. South African higher education institutions have not used African languages for instruction; this is in line with the rest of the continent, where the medium of instruction is usually English or French. Most educators do not consider the future development of African languages as media of instruction to be a realistic option for a number of reasons. For example, at the University of Cape Town, which draws students from around the country, no single African language predominates, which leaves English as the only language common to all students. However, at more regionally based institutions, there is greater language homogeneity among the students.

Data on student representation in higher education by social class are not available. Experience suggests, however, that the majority of African students in higher education are first-generation students, especially at the HBIs. The government's recently established National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS), which provides both bursary (scholarship) and loan funding to financially needy students, allocates up to 98 percent of its resources to African students. The NSFAS allocates funds to students whose gross family income is below R 45 000 per annum. In 1993, only 15 percent of households in South Africa earned above R 45 000 per annum, and of these, 74 percent were white. The average household size for Africans is estimated at 4.8 people, but this figure varies significantly by province and location. In contrast, the average white household size is fairly constant at 3.0 people. Despite the introduction of NSFAS, a major barrier to

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access to higher education in South Africa remains the shortage of financial aid to help students meet their tuition and living expenses.

South African higher education institutions are open to students from all parts of the country. Some institutions, such as many of the teacher training colleges, serve students who come mainly from within the province or region in which the school is located. In contrast, the major universities and technikons attract students from around the country. As the cost of higher education rises, it will be interesting to see if these trends change significantly in the future. Little data are available about the participation rates of students from rural areas. Although a number of institutions have tried to encourage the enrollment of students from rural areas, some institutions (for example, the University of the Western Cape, in the early 1990s) experienced difficulty in developing workable criteria for establishing applicants' rural origins.

Most students enter higher education from secondary school or from further education institutions, and the focus thus far has been on the needs of young students in the age range of 17-25. Older students and those enrolled in higher education through the workplace tend to be more concentrated at distance-learning institutions. It must be noted, however, that both the NCHE Report and the *Green Paper* advocate a policy of promoting the enrollment of older learners within a framework of lifelong learning.

Staff Access

NCHE reports that the staff of South Africa's higher education sector is highly stratified in terms of gender and race. The greater the prestige, status, and influence associated with particular positions, the greater the extent to which they are dominated by Whites and males. On the other hand, positions with lower status and prestige that yield little influence tend to be filled primarily by Blacks and females. Most academic staff members at both the universities and the technikons are White and male. Most African staff members are concentrated at the bottom of the employment ladder in service positions, while most Whites are employed as academic staff (faculty) or as senior administrators. In 1992, females constituted 26 percent of all senior lecturers, 15 percent of associate professors, and only 6 percent of professors at universities. At present, only two universities have female vice-chancellors (presidents). No technikon is headed by a woman.

In 1990, 39 percent of the academic staff at universities had doctorates as their highest formal qualification. This figure was 30 percent in historically black universities (HBUs), while it stood at 45 percent in historically white universities (HWUs). The full-time student-to-staff ratio in 1993 for contact institutions was fifteen to one for HWUs, twenty-six to one for HBUs, and thirty-two to one for the technikons (histori-

cally black and white). The relatively high student-to-staff ratios at the HBIs are often cited as one of the reasons for the low research output at these institutions.

The composition of staff in higher education fails to come close to reflecting the demographic realities of South Africa, and the need to make the staff profile more representative poses a major challenge to higher education institutions. The barriers to access are complex and not always rooted in the apartheid legacy. In the case of gender, the NCHE report identifies "broader social constraints such as family responsibilities and institutional policies and practices" as factors that discriminate against women.

Massification—A Central Feature for Transformation

This brief outline of student access to South African higher education indicates that the system is already undergoing expansion, with more students entering the institutions from increasingly diverse backgrounds. South Africa is poised between an elite and a mass higher education system; however, growth has thus far taken place in an unplanned manner and has not been driven by clear national policy. Experience with uncoordinated growth, both locally and elsewhere in the world, is producing real fear that the quality of education at all levels of the South African system may decline. To prevent decline, South African higher education institutions need to increase financial resources and undertake far-reaching changes in curricula, including changes in teaching modes and the diversification of program offerings. NCHE has addressed these and related concerns by proposing a multifaceted strategy to promote planned and affordable growth of the system. This strategy, which resides within the broader restructuring of higher education, is guided by a number of fundamental principles endorsed in the *Green Paper*: redress, democratization, development, quality, effectiveness and efficiency, academic freedom and institutional autonomy, and public accountability.

With these fundamental principles, NCHE seeks to develop specific goals at the national or system-wide level, as well as at the institutional level. An overarching goal, as articulated in the *Green Paper*, is to "conceptualize, plan, administer, and fund higher education in South Africa as a single, coordinated, effective, and efficient system." Other goals enunciated in the *Green Paper* that are particularly relevant to this paper include the following:

- To provide a full spectrum of advanced educational opportunities for as wide a range as possible of the population, irrespective of race, gender, age, creed, or class.
- To develop capacity-building measures to facilitate a more representative staff component, committed to standards and ideals of creative and internationally

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recognized academic work, while also sensitive to practical concerns and national needs.

The NCHE Report and the *Green Paper* also outline three key features central to achieving the transformation of higher education and in line with the articulated principles and goals. The NCHE Report lists these features as the need for:

- Increased participation in the system by a diverse range of constituencies
- Increased cooperation and more partnerships between higher education and other social actors and institutions
- Greater responsiveness to a wide range of social and economic needs.

The focus of this paper has been on the first of these three central features, i.e., the need to promote the massification of higher education in South Africa. This initiative is being driven by a number of imperatives, including demographic pressures and the political demand for access. Regarding the former, it is estimated that the number of secondary school graduates qualified to enter higher education is likely to increase from 310,000 in 1995 to more than 640,000 by the year 2005. The human-resource needs of the economy constitute an additional driving force. A review of labor market studies conducted for NCHE suggests that there is likely to be a "supply shortfall of higher education qualifiers" in the coming years. However, there are concerns about the type and mix of graduates, and the NCHE Report argues that if South Africa is to compete in the global economy, it will need increasing numbers of skilled professionals and "knowledge workers" to strengthen its enterprises and its public sector, and that the great bulk of this increase will need to come from the black community. Thus, NCHE sees the growth in higher education as essential for both redress and development.

NCHE proposes that the overall participation rate in higher education should increase to 30 percent by the year 2005; this would require an increase in student numbers from about 800,000 in 1995 to about 1,500,000 in 2005; this growth should be planned so as to promote more career-focused programs, programs in science and technology, and shorter-cycle certificates and diplomas, as well as to redress current race and gender inequalities across all program fields and levels. While the *Green Paper* endorses the case for expansion, it suggests that NCHE's proposed growth target be "treated as provisional until more detailed demographic and labor market analyses are available." This is somewhat surprising, since NCHE's proposed targets fall within current growth patterns.

Given South Africa's racially skewed higher education participation rates (see Figure A), it is clear that expansion of the system in the coming period must allow for the increased participation of African and colored students. However, if NCHE expects to fully realize its broader equity and development goals, it will have to provide increasing access opportunities and pathways for adult learners, women, black people, students from rural areas, and working class students, among others. In addition, expansion in the coming period needs to be responsive to the country's broad human resource needs and must stimulate growth in areas such as postgraduate studies and programs with a career focus.

The NCHE Report and the *Green Paper* advocate the use of financial incentives to steer the system into line with national goals, and both also place considerable emphasis on the planning process (at both the institutional and national levels) as a way to support the transformation of higher education. In accordance with this strategy, the NCHE Report proposes incentives to encourage planned growth but does not advocate the imposition by government of rigid enrollment targets differentiated by race or gender.

We need to understand the issue of massification within the overall framework of transformation being proposed by the NCHE and the *Green Paper*. Massification has implications not only for increasing participation rates, but also for how the system is organized, funded, and managed. It requires us to ask fundamental questions about who gains access, who teaches, what subjects are taught and researched, and how, where, and when teaching and learning take place.

Many difficult challenges already confront institutions as they reorient themselves to serve the needs of greater numbers of increasingly diverse students and staff. The rapid and unplanned growth of the system, without any major injection of additional resources, has sharpened a range of tensions both in the formal teaching and learning arena and in the broader environment of higher education institutions. Although these tensions are experienced differently on South African campuses, depending on their historical origins and location, some commonalities exist.

In the academic sphere, for example, a major concern is the gulf between the level of preparedness of large numbers of students and the starting expectations of higher education programs; this gulf has contributed to poor throughput rates. In response, many universities and technikons have instituted academic development support programs, bridging programs, and extended curricula to help students meet the demands of higher education programs. To date, most of these initiatives have not been funded through the state subsidy, but have been forced to rely on overseas and local grants. Most academic support programs reach relatively small numbers of students, and there are very few examples of such initiatives that have been successfully mainstreamed. Some institutions

have also been addressing the challenges of teaching increasing numbers of students from diverse educational backgrounds through the use of resource-based teaching and learning strategies.

Outside of the lecture theater, the ethos prevailing at many South African campuses has not been conducive to supporting increasingly diverse students and staff. Sexual harassment and violence, as well as racial tensions, are not uncommon on South African campuses. Although a number of institutions have in place a range of antidiscrimination policies, they too are experiencing difficulty in interpreting and implementing the policies.

SECTION II: HOW DIVERSITY DEBATES AND ISSUES ARE EXPRESSED AT THE INSTITUTIONAL LEVEL

Three facets of diversity and diversity issues that need to be emphasized exist within South African higher education. They impinge directly on how diversity is understood and expressed at the campus level.

1. Addressing diversity issues requires fundamental institutional transformation.

As Nasima Badsha has indicated in Section I, the shape, size, and composition of the South African higher education system has been largely molded by apartheid ideology. As a consequence, it is clear that attempts to respond to diversity issues and debates at the campus level need to be informed by this history and linked to the national impetus for fundamental transformation of higher education institutions.

The relationship between diversity and transformation expresses itself in a variety of ways at various levels within the higher education system. As Debra Ewing (1996) says:

Most institutions are therefore attempting to tackle diversity within the context of the transformation process since it impacts on almost every aspect of academic life from access and student support to curriculum reform and the social and learning environment.¹

The NCHE Report provides the conceptual framework necessary to locate campus diversity issues and initiatives within a broader transformation agenda for higher education. In order to meet the learning needs and aspirations of talented students, higher education must develop their intellect, abilities, and aptitudes, by providing a full spectrum of advanced learning opportunities for all students, irrespective of race, gender, age, and so forth.

As the previous section makes clear, this has not been the case in the past, because of inequitable and restricted access to learning opportunities and life chances for most South African people. This inequity has also extended to those higher education institu-

tions, set up by the apartheid system, that South Africans refer to as historically disadvantaged institutions (HDI).

Many recommendations of the NCHE Report and the *Green Paper* are based on the need to mobilize the potential of all the country's people and higher education institutions. This is essential for South Africa in order to develop highly trained people with the range of skills and competencies necessary for the reconstruction and development of the country within a global context. In the past there has been an incongruity between human potential, higher education output, and societal needs, with limited access of Blacks and women into fields such as science, engineering technology, and commerce.

The harmonizing of these national, institutional, and individual priorities cannot happen without an acknowledgement and understanding of the real differences and diversities that do find concrete expression on South African campuses.

The Political Baggage of Diversity

The richness of South Africa's cultural, linguistic, racial, and social diversity was used by apartheid policy for the purposes of distorted social engineering and separate development. As a result, a consideration of diversity issues on campuses is inseparable from the political history of the country and of particular institutions. Apartheid emphasized difference in a way that cast a negative focus upon diversity. This led to institutionalized division, discrimination, and, finally, the entrenched domination of one group over the other. This might explain why recent discussions in South Africa about the desirability of establishing campus diversity projects have been viewed with suspicion by progressive South African educationalists who have feared that difference and the very language of pluralism and multiculturalism would be politically exploited.

At the same time, if we push too hard for national unity by attempting to minimize the real differences that do exist, we will be ignoring the impact of class, economic status, gender, ethnicity, religion, urban prejudice, language, and age on a student's sense of identity, life experiences, and opportunities. Therefore, responding to the social diversity of South Africa and its expression on college campuses has as much to do with dismantling a discriminatory political system based on "separate development" and dealing with the consequences of these policies by redressing past injustices as it has to do with moving forward and building upon the richness of the country's diverse human and national potential.

"Diversity," "diversity issues," and "diversification" are terms that are increasingly becoming part of the South African higher education debate and conference circuit, and they are frequently mentioned within the NCHE Report. The levels of meaning embodied within these concepts depend on the context in which they are used. These levels

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are often contested in terms of the priority afforded specific programs of redress on campuses and competing agendas for political change within the country.

A recent newspaper article (1996) demonstrates the extent to which this debate has entered the public domain:

Diversity. Another piece of diplomatic, liberal jargon intended painlessly to describe the painful coming together of black and white in South Africa's universities and technikons? Or a concept capable of overcoming the conflicts and controversies of transformation? Don't hold your breath for consensus—except on the fact that diversity is not just about color.²

There is an emergent realization that, if educators are to embark on an organized and coherent national campus diversity initiative, we will need to rework, rediscover, redefine, and, hopefully, find sufficient consensus on what diversity and diversity initiatives mean within the South African context.

2. Campus diversity issues are majority issues.

It is clear from the statistics presented in the previous section that most South Africans have been denied equal access to the resources of the country and to the life opportunities that flow from this access. This has occurred through legislated discrimination, which entrenched the privilege of the white minority. Therefore, for South Africa at a macro level, diversity issues of equity, justice, and development are majority issues. To date, little research or attention has been given to the range of insecurities created for minorities, because of a necessary focus on the needs of the majority. This fact creates an interesting level of tension, as several recent violent incidents have indicated.³

The Diversification of South African Higher Education Institutions

Increasingly, South Africa's higher education institutions are beginning to reflect social diversity. At the campus level, university and technikon communities are shaped by their particular political, economic, and educational histories, diverse student and staff profiles, and multiple regional and local characteristics. These factors interweave so that it is impossible to talk about a typical South African campus or higher education experience or a general way in which diversity issues express themselves on campus.

At the same time, the dynamic created by this diversity tends to directly affect the fabric of campus life, often resulting in tensions across the higher education system. Television images of white students in Pretoria in uproar over Afrikaans and black students in the Western Cape, railing against exclusions, evoke strong emotions. Conflicts

over the pace and nature of transformation and financial and academic exclusions are the issues that have caused the most bitter protests around the country in the past year. Such confrontations tend to run on racial lines, masking other issues of diversity.⁴

Campus Culture and Climate: Student Protests and Campus Tensions

At the institutional level, and even the national level, conflicts already exist over who drives and who determines the pace and nature of transformation, how plans and programs are implemented, and how the educational and institutional priorities are determined in the context of competing interests. Such conflict often lies at the root of student protest, campus conflict, and disruptions, and it expresses itself in an intolerance of different and competing opinions and interests. Given the history of South Africa, it is not surprising that a culture of tolerance and public debate is noticeably absent from most campuses. All too often, an inability to reconcile and accommodate these differences leads to violent confrontation and campus clashes.

1996 was a year of discontent, with protest action on campuses taking a number of forms. Students marched separately or in alliance with workers, and this often spilled over into violence, destruction of property, and criminal behavior. Since then, the national student formations and staff organizations have become fragmented and have lost their cohesion, grassroots campus support, and political direction. New student formations, often organized along racial, religious, or political party lines, have emerged to contest Student Representative Council elections and organize counter marches. On most campuses, issues of gender have taken a backseat within student contestations for power.

Recent student upheavals on campus have served to deepen historical social and political divides, perpetuate stereotypes, and threaten the fragile sense of community that is being nurtured by South African higher education institutions. The transformation of higher education institutions and, in particular, the diversification of the student community have presented an immediate and specific challenge to higher education staff. They have come to terms with the fact that their own structures, curricula, and interactions largely reflect the very social structures that have contributed to inequality and discrimination within South African society. The pace and management of the change process at the campus level are often perceived by staff, who are still predominately white, to be fairly ad hoc, reactive, lacking in systemic coherence, and threatening.

The sense of embattlement and marginalization is compounded by new challenges and demands for transformation not being matched by increased financial, educational, and human resources. Students are directing much of this dissatisfaction either at the institutional leadership or at the national Department of Education and Education Ministry, which are perceived to be insensitive to the needs of the higher education sector.

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It is not surprising that the morale and motivation of many higher education staff members are reportedly at an all-time low. The euphoria of the new South Africa and "rainbow nation" is over, and the hard work of reconstruction, development, and community building has begun.

It is likely that higher education institutions and campus diversity projects can play a significant role in constructing a critical civil society characterized by a culture of tolerance, public debate, and accommodation of competing interests and differences. This society can be achieved if educators ensure that campus conflict and contestations are channeled constructively within the institutional system and student sector, without stifling critical debate. Educators would have to develop campus procedures for communicating and handling diversity conflict and for advancing a democratic ethos and culture on campus. These procedures would fundamentally link higher education and diversity initiatives to the public good by contributing to the social fabric of the emerging South African democracy. *NCHE: Framework for Transformation* identifies this role for higher education.

It is the task of [Higher Education] to support a healthy public opinion and vibrant public debate by developing a culture of critical discourse in society, by nurturing those intellectual and moral qualities that are pre-conditions for independent and critical thinking, maturity of judgement, and social responsibility.⁵

1. Diversity initiatives must be mainstream strategic initiatives at the campus level.

Higher education practitioners generally accept that the South African higher education system and its institutions need to reflect, accommodate, and respond to the social diversity that characterizes South African society and that this will not happen without enabling legislation, institutional planning, and appropriate financial incentives (see Section 1). This need has been given impetus by the policy proposals of the NCHE Report and the *Green Paper*; they would fundamentally change the organization, governance, and funding of higher education institutions, the academic programs offered, the diversity of the staff and student community, and the complexity of their educational and personal needs.

The broad framework for transformation proposed by the NCHE ensures the diversification of the system at every level and "a move to more integrative forms of social organization" (NCHE, p. 76).

Three central features of the framework open the way for this focus on campus diversity:

- a. Programs of redress that lead to increased participation in the system by a diverse range of constituencies. These will affect the process and outcome of transformation and the system's diversity and flexibility.
- b. Increased cooperation and more partnerships between higher education and other institutions and sections of society. This "move away from institutional self-reliance and assumed independence" will affect the governance of the system and the mode of its policymaking, management, and administration.
- c. Greater responsiveness to a wide range of social, cultural, political, and economic needs that constitute the changing societal context of higher education. This context is characterized by a need for redress and the mobilization and development of the potential of the country and its diverse people. These highlight the need at an institutional level for policies, practices, and programs that address the requirements of an increasingly diverse student and staff population.

It is important to ensure that, in their attempts to diversify institutions, the academic and research programs, staff, and students complement, transcend, and avoid replicating past bureaucracy and divisions. As diversity issues will and do find expression at the campus level in a number of ways, campus initiatives will need to address them comprehensively and systemically as discussed below.

Institutional Missions, Policies, Priorities and Strategic Initiatives

South African higher education institutions still replicate the ethnic, race, gender, and social divisions of wider society. Campus diversity projects, defined as mainstream institutional initiatives that contribute to the diversification of higher education institutions or the system as a whole, therefore need to be identified as priority areas of strategic intervention.

Comprehensive institutional strategic planning is necessary:

- To ensure that the diversity of South African society is reflected at every level of the higher education system and that diversification is prioritized as part of South Africa's educational mission.
- To facilitate the process of fundamental change by developing a systemic institutional response to this diversification.

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- To develop policies, practices, and programs that address an increasingly diverse student and staff population within higher education institutions.

This would necessitate, among other things, the development of diversity indicators that would enable campuses to chart their progress in addressing diversity issues.

Institutional Decision Making and Governance

The proposed model of cooperative governance for higher education in South Africa received particular focus during the course of this seminar. This comprises the organization and administration of the system, including its decision-making processes and governance structures. At an institutional level:

The onus is on institutions to review governance arrangements—the composition and representativeness of their councils, senates and academic boards, and establish broad transformation forums as a mechanism for dialogue, consultation, and dispute resolution.⁶

Representativeness recognizes the diversity of stakeholders who have a vested interest in the governance of higher education institutions.

Academic Scholarship, Teaching, and Research

The course content, focus, and delivery mode of programs offered at South African higher education institutions are at present under critical review. This review has to do with ensuring that subject content, knowledge production, and dissemination are responsive to the problems, challenges, and diverse realities of the South African and African context. As the student profile has changed, it has also become necessary to ensure that teaching strategies, modes of delivery, and academic development initiatives meet the needs and diverse educational histories of the changing student population. At the same time, there is an attempt to balance the need for social and community development with the challenge of South Africa's re-entry into the global market.

Student Profile: Redress, Access, Retention, and Graduation

Improving access to higher education has not translated into an equal throughput and graduation rate for those students most disadvantaged by their previous educational histories and home circumstances. Opening the doors of learning will prove to be meaningless if financial constraints, campus climate, curricula, and teaching methods continue to limit students' opportunities to succeed within the system. These challenges, covered more fully in Section I, are being addressed, with varying success,

through academic development/support programs, bridging programs, and extended and augmented curricula.

Student Services and Support

The diversity and complexity of the personal, social, educational, and economic histories of students who gain admission to higher education institutions have meant that an increasing number of students find the campus environment and culture alienating. This situation has created an additional social and personal obstacle to students' chances of academic success. Student services departments⁷ at South African higher education institutions aim to fulfill a particular support, service, and development function in relation to these complex and ever-changing student needs. The imperative to transform, diversify, and massify has meant that the role and capacity of these departments have come under national review.

Within a significant number of higher education institutions, the departments providing student support services and facilities are fragmented, under-resourced, and often marginalized within the institutional and managerial system. Consolidation of various departments that offer services, programs, and facilities to students into one distinct unit is a relatively new development in the organization of higher education institutions. The process of consolidation will be facilitated by the proposed Student Services Councils/Boards and by the development of a comprehensive, systematic, multidisciplinary response to the diversity and complexity of student needs on higher education campuses.

During this period of institutional transformation, student services practitioners, with little or no specific training, are often called upon to mediate between student formations (groups) and the university executive or administration. This mediator role involves them in the negotiation of policies, rules, and procedures with student structures. At the same time, these same student services practitioners are expected to keep the campus executive, faculty members, and administration informed about the students' aspirations, expectations, concerns, and demands.

Country-wide student protests and disruptions to the academic programs of higher education institutions are often provoked by dissatisfaction with delivery of student services and the institutional implementation of policies and procedures that directly affect a student's academic life. These also place student services staff at the "coalface" in managing conflict situations and the social context for, and consequences of, transformation on campuses. Their training and development needs have already been prioritized by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation (CHET). The aim of this venture is to develop the capacity of the student services sector within higher education institutions so as to enable practitioners to locate themselves within a transformed higher edu-

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cation system, influence the process of institutional transformation, and respond to the challenges of an increasingly complex and diverse staff and student community.

In addressing these diversity issues at the campus level, the interface between academic and institutional planning with student services has received increasing recognition. On a more positive level, student services departments afford students numerous opportunities for experiential and service learning outside of the lecture room and close to their daily lives. These opportunities need to be brought into alignment with the educational objectives of departments and with the students' academic goals.

Institutional Commitment to the Community

Most higher education institutions have accepted the need to be responsive and responsible to the broader community. To do so requires "social responsibility and commitment to common good by making the expertise and infrastructure of higher education institutions available for programs of community service, answering needs, and contributing to the social, cultural, educational and economic development of the broader community of which the institution is part" (NCHE, 73).

Professor Abrahams, rector of the University of the Western Cape (a historically colored institution), recently underscored another dimension to the complex relationship between diversity issues, higher education transformation, and community dynamics. He noted that the colored community, which had dominated his institution during apartheid, did not understand why it was no longer "their place." Clearly, the university needs to do a better job of explaining its transformation to the community.

Conclusion

There is little doubt that, given the South African context sketched above, addressing the contentious and history-laden issues of identity, difference, and community will dominate campus life in their next period of transformation. All higher education institutions are facing this challenge, but with varying degrees of success. The capacity of the education sector to respond more effectively would be greatly enhanced by establishing a national approach to these campus diversity issues. This conference will add voice to our attempts to reach sufficient consensus in these matters.

ENDNOTES

1. Ewing, D. 1996. Universities must adapt or be damned. *Natal Mercury*, 23 December.
2. Ewing, D. 1996. Campus tensions are the price of coming together. *Sunday Independent*, 15 December.
3. Emergence of the Muslim-led People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) and the recent bombings allegedly carried out by Boere Aanvals Troepe (BAT).
4. Ewing, D. 1996. Campus tensions are the price of coming together. *Sunday Independent*, 15 December.
5. NCHE, 72.
6. Department of Education. 1996. *Green Paper on Higher Education Transformation*.
7. Student services departments usually include: student and career counseling, student health, financial aid, student housing, sports administration, student employment, student development, and those staff who offer administrative support to student governance, clubs and societies. At some institutions, student admissions and academic support are included within this grouping.

A Brief Sociohistorical Odyssey
of the American University
Through a Lens
of Cultural Diversity



THE ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

The United States has never had a centralized national ministry of education nor a single state church overseeing the development of its colleges and universities. Thus, in international, comparative terms, American educational institutions have always enjoyed a degree of institutional, curricular, and organizational diversity that is unique. Nonetheless, the earliest colleges and universities in the United States were characterized by a remarkable degree of religious or sectarian domination that bears no resemblance to the current complex of diverse institutions, curricular expansion, and student and faculty "diversity" that are a feature of the late twentieth century.

The first universities (1636-1780) were private institutions with the clergy firmly in control of the curriculum and faculty appointments. Only after the war of independence from Great Britain would public institutions with secular control become a feature of the landscape of higher education. To understand the path that the early colleges took, we need to take a brief glance back to the origins of the European and British traditions upon which the American system is jointly, if sequentially, based.

Tracing lines back to thirteenth century Europe, universities in western societies developed two very different conceptions of how students should relate to higher learning. One version is exemplified by the University of Paris (and later by Oxford) which vested both intellectual authority and administrative control in the faculty and in government officials (Rashdall 1936). A sharply different conception developed at Bologna, where students for many years controlled teaching compensation, teaching conditions, and even degree requirements. This is partly explained by the social conditions of these students, most of whom were adults from the most privileged segments of the landed aristocracy. Moreover, the majority were "foreigners" drawn from different regions and provinces by the reputations of famous instructors. They came to study in an autonomous city-state at a time when collective solidarity provided a measure of safety against robbery, assault, and various forms of exploitation. To establish and protect their rights, the students organized themselves into well-knit social organizations called nations that largely corresponded to their places of origin. The relevance of this for contemporary discussions of life at the North American university will become clear.

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The University of Paris, and later Oxford and Cambridge, followed a different model. While there was a similar selection of those from the most privileged parts of society, young sons of the French and English nobility were selected for the explicit purpose of being tutored in the classics to be groomed for positions of leadership in the church and government. The United States, with some important modifications, began by adopting the Oxford model (Lunsford and Duster 1974).

American Beginnings

The earliest American colonial colleges were designed to perform two functions. First and foremost, the purpose was the training of a literate clergy. The colonies had allegiance to the British crown, where there was no separation of church and state. The secondary, but nearly as important, mandate in the charter of these early colleges, was that they also train men who would enter public life in professions other than the ministry. But one undisputed fact of life was that the faculty were men of the clergy. They took it as their mission to weld Christian theology to secular curricular matters. Not only did they see no contradiction in that (the separation of church and state would become part of the U.S. Constitution only at the close of the eighteenth century), they saw instead a duty to integrate Christian teaching, knowledge, and service. As late as 1730, if and when permitted to enroll, Quakers and Jews would find themselves the "diversity" in most of these early institutions. Until the last decade of the eighteenth century, boards of trustees and presidents of these colleges were all men of the cloth. Well into the nineteenth century (1825), a visiting missionary student from Switzerland could write:

There are in the United States forty or fifty colleges containing perhaps in the whole 4,000 or 5,000 students. A great proportion of these colleges and with two or three exceptions all of the most flourishing are managed more or less by the pious orthodox clergy who are thus preparing to exert an immense influence on the national character (Brubacher & Rudy 1958, 74).

The dominance of the clergy was not the only uncontested issue. Social class homogeneity was also a given. For example, the founding documents for Harvard College provide the only criterion for admission: that the young scholar be able to read Latin and Greek. That speaks loudly of the self-selection through social standing, class, and privilege. And, of course, as was the tradition of the times in Europe as well, the students were male.

Finally, in this first phase of the American system of higher education, these colleges and universities were primarily private, not public institutions. This would

change at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with state governments and the new federal government providing land as grants to the new states that were coming into the union. The earliest "land grants" therefore preceded the Morrill Act (1857) by a full half century. Thomas Jefferson, for example, championed the University of Virginia, a state-owned public university, transferring his allegiance away from Dartmouth College, on the grounds that Virginia would be completely free from control by any religious denomination. He believed it was appropriate for the different denominations to erect centers of worship adjacent to the university grounds, but he was adamant against allowing them to dictate the choice of professors (Brubacher and Rudy 1958, 145).

Secularization and the Emerging Land Grant Institutions

Many have the mistaken impression that the land grant institutions of higher education began with the passage by the U.S. Congress of the Morrill Act of 1857. In fact, the federal government had already donated four million acres of public land to fifteen states for the endowment of universities for a full half-century prior to the Morrill Act. In 1816, the constitution of the state of Indiana provided for the provision of a state university, "wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." Just four decades after the Declaration of Independence, a populist insurgency was beginning to gain ground.

The clergy was often wary of this development and protective of their colleges. In several states, they successfully fought off the granting of land for public universities for many years. Illinois was one such example where denominational groups banded together to stave off the land grant for decades in the first half of the nineteenth century. The University of Michigan became noted as a battleground in the fight between the denominational colleges and the public university. In 1837, a draft of the general educational code for the new state of Michigan attempted to copy the educational system of Prussia, projecting a pyramidal educational structure, at the apex of which would stand the great state university. Everything below it would be "branches" or "feeders," also under public control; they would be the secondary schools. And at the pyramid's foundation would be the massive system of common elementary schools for universal public education (Brubacher and Rudy 1958, 153).

The Michigan state legislature tried for a time to adopt this position, refusing to permit private institutions from granting higher degrees. The legislature went even further, permitting the University of Michigan, through its various "branches" to monopolize college preparation in the state. The denominational colleges fought back, and finally, in 1855 won the right to incorporate for degree-granting purposes. Adoption of the

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Prussian model would elevate the idea of the research university to a new pinnacle: that professors were not merely to teach and preserve knowledge, but to advance it with vanguard research.

There is no doubt that the passage of the Morrill Act of 1857 was one of those decisive moments that would provide an impetus for fundamentally altering higher education in the United States. Probably the most important thing that it accomplished and that in 1890 was supplemented by federal legislation was the idea of federal support buttressed by annual state funding. This arrangement brought to center stage the issue of explicit policy considerations regarding what would constitute a relevant curriculum. Indeed, state funding combined seamlessly with both the increasing industrialization of the United States and the surging scientific revolution to fuel the curricular push into academic territories far removed from the original ecclesiastical concerns of training the clergy. Now, the task was to help agricultural and mining concerns. Agriculture and mining in the late nineteenth century were dominant state concerns. And they would come to be known by their initials alone, A&M. This was the period in which many states would establish colleges with a specific mandate—Texas A&M, Oklahoma—and built under this banner.

Higher Education and African Americans

Until 1865 most Americans of African descent were slaves. Even after slavery ended, most lived in the rural South until 1940, disenfranchised and/or impoverished. During the slavery era it was a crime to teach a slave to read or write, so that "higher education" was not an issue during the ante-bellum period. In the first thirty years after the Emancipation, colleges for Blacks grew rapidly and thrived in the South. They were aided by northern Christian churches, who sent hundreds of "schoolmarms" to staff the common schools for teaching young Blacks.

The staff of these fledgling institutes were almost entirely idealistic northern missionaries. For example, the American Missionary Society of New York founded Atlanta University in Georgia and Talladega College in Alabama. At first, the concern was with secondary education. Just getting the basics was a herculean task, producing functional literacy for three million people who had been purposefully excluded from any educational institution. The attempt to found these Negro colleges aroused the anger of the White South. In 1870, the president of Talladega was shot and killed. As the northern troops pulled back and Reconstruction ended, the White South began to pass legislation restricting the civil and political rights of Blacks. Into this situation came Booker T. Washington, who argued for a conciliatory strategy, saying that Blacks should concentrate on the trades and manual labor. His position pleased much of the

White southern opposition to the establishment of Black colleges, and most southern states agreed to provide funding for the vocational/trade education of African Americans. This state of affairs was further advanced by the passage of the second Morrill Act of 1890. While the act required that federal funds go only to states that did not discriminate, it also provided that states could provide "separate but equal facilities." This spurred the southern states to support the building and development of separate Black institutions of higher education but aimed at keeping them primarily as trade schools, with little or no liberal arts or professional education.

Gradually, Blacks took over the teaching positions. Inadvertently, these Black colleges would come to provide a kind of supportive environment for Black students, generating and nurturing leadership independent from direct control by Whites. These historically Black colleges had a near monopoly on the training of the Black elite. Indeed, in the United States, prior to the Supreme Court decision of 1954, almost all African Americans who were college-educated attended these traditionally Black colleges. *Brown v. Board of Education* struck down the "separate but equal" principle that had generated the funding for separate Black colleges.

Sociohistorical Context of the Jewish Quota in the Early Twentieth Century

In the early 1900s, most urban Americans were of northern and western European ancestry. Of other groups, more than 90 percent of the Black population were located in the rural South; more than 95 percent of Latinos of Mexican descent were in the southwestern part of the United States; and the very small Asian population was primarily in the West. The major "ethnic minorities" in America's cities were the growing numbers of Italians, Greeks, Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, and Jews who were part of the great wave of immigration between the years 1880 and 1920 from south, central, and eastern Europe (Liebersohn 1980).

To obtain a job, the average American did not need a college education, and the low rate of college attendance reflected that. At the turn of the century only 2 percent of college-age youth (18-24) were enrolled in a college. "At that time, only a handful of universities enrolled as many as two thousand undergraduate and graduate students combined; only five medical schools required any college preparation for admission" (Levine 1986, 13). Indeed, as late as 1918, more than half of American institutions of higher learning enrolled fewer than 300 students.

From 1880 to 1920, New York's Ellis Island was the main point of entry for the flow of poor immigrants arriving from Russia and southeastern Europe. By 1910, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe made up 10 percent of the U.S. population. At the national level attempts to halt this flow took the form of literacy tests in 1917,

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and, ultimately, in 1924, quotas based on each European country's immigrant figures from the 1890 census—a strategy biased in favor of northwestern Europeans (Lieberson 1980, 29).

Meanwhile, high schools were among the first institutions to feel the impact of the new immigrants. By 1910, Jews made up 41 percent of all those who graduated from New York's public high schools. These high schools were important feeder schools for neighboring colleges, Columbia in particular. Before the 1924 immigration law capped the tide, Jews from south, central, and eastern Europe were already a strong and noticeable (by non-Jews) presence in New York colleges.

At none of the Ivy League institutions did the proportion of Jews ever come close to submerging the WASP (White, Anglo-Saxon Protestant) majority. At Harvard, the percentage of Jews more than tripled between 1900 and 1922; at Yale, it doubled between 1907 and 1921; at Princeton, it almost doubled between 1906 and 1922. At rural Princeton, where fears of an impending inundation of "Hebrews" was acute, Jews never comprised more than one student in twenty (Karabel 1984, 10). President Lowell of Harvard noted that upbringing put gentiles at a disadvantage vis-a-vis Jews: Although claiming they "could compete with the Hebrews . . . and win when they chose to do so," he conceded that "a great part of our American boys from well-to-do families are brought up to believe that in their early years they should not work hard, but play rather than labor" (Synnott 1979, 79-80). President Lowell believed that he should "state frankly" the reasons for a proposed admissions quota. He rejected indirect means, which might fail to obtain the desired results, but taking the social temperature of the times, he thought it possible to discreetly win public support for a policy that explicitly and specifically discriminated against Jews (Wechsler 1977, 161-162; Synnott 1979, 63).

Lowell appointed a faculty committee that tried to finesse an explicit quota naming Jews but stated: "In the opinion of this Faculty it is not desirable that the number of students in any group which is not easily assimilated into the common life of the College should exceed fifteen per cent of the whole College." As Synnott (1979, 64) explains, "The phrase 'not easily assimilated' was a thinly veiled reference to Jews." Fifty years later, adversaries in the debate over assimilation versus curricular reform would argue both ways (Paget 1992): that minorities, such as Blacks and Latinos, should follow the "model" of Asian Americans, whose academic success and large college enrollment were indicative of the cultural assimilability of minorities. For the same year, 1967, Black enrollment at other prestigious institutions was only 1.7 percent. Yet, the large concentration of Asian Americans on college campuses and their "over-representation" in elite institutions would eventually be seen as upsetting the goal of "cultural diversity" (Woo 1990).

RECENT SOCIAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

In the last two decades, the majority of U.S. colleges and universities has had to come to terms with an increased consciousness of the ethnic, racial, cultural, and social diversity of their students. While this has been especially true for those institutions located in or around major urban areas, even those colleges without notable demographic shifts (e.g., rural Nebraska, northeastern Massachusetts, or southern Oregon) have experienced the "winds of change." Sometimes this takes the form of purposeful recruitment to "increase the diversity" among faculty, students, and staff. Sometimes pressures come from a desire for a more inclusive curriculum.

New students advocated both faculty recruitment and curricular innovation to redress historical exclusions. However, while it can certainly be argued that "demography, not demagoguery" (Paget 1992) was the impetus behind a number of institutional changes, the changes came only after considerable resistance; they were made with reservations and continue to be the focal point of heated contestation.

In the last quarter century, America's urban population has undergone the most dramatic racial re-composition in its entire history. The public discourse around these developments typically occurs without appreciation for the larger context of this recent and rapidly shifting urban demography. Beginning in the 1970s, the ten major metropolitan areas each experienced a dramatic increase in the proportion of residents who are non-White. New York City's White population dropped from about 75 percent in 1970 to 38 percent in 1990; San Francisco dropped from 75 percent White to 43 percent; and for Los Angeles, the drop was even greater, from 78 percent to 37 percent White in 1990. A similar pattern developed for almost every major metropolitan area in the nation, and all this was occurring while the racial segregation of the population by residence was increasing. Residential racial segregation in our cities solidified in the period from 1940 to 1970, shaping public school segregation, segregation of medical care, and a host of ancillary social institutions (Massey and Denton 1993).

Critical Mass and Curricular Challenge

When a substantial increase occurs in the proportion of women and previously underrepresented groups within the student body, a critical mass is reached. The point at which this mass becomes "critical" is not absolute but contingent upon the salient social, political, and cultural context. With critical mass comes a transformation of the politics of identity and often an attendant interest group political mobilization; the development of social, political, and cultural advocacy organizations; challenges to the institution in terms of the gender and ethnic/racial composition of the faculty; and the import and integration of curricula addressing issues of gender and ethnic and racial

stratification, including the deconstruction and reconstruction of traditional categories of knowledge.

A salient example can be found in the shifting gender composition of law school students over the last three decades. In the 1965-66 academic year, women constituted only 4.2 percent of the students studying for the J.D. in American universities. The most recent data set for 1993-94 reflects a ten-fold increase during the last thirty years. Women now constitute more than 43 percent of law students in the country (Teitelbaum 1997).

In contrast, while students from communities of color have seen some notable progress in terms of their increased numbers and percentages over the last three decades, they are less likely to have reached the "critical mass" necessary to make their presence strongly felt. Women's challenges to the curriculum have produced new kinds of curricular responses and intellectual developments, from feminist jurisprudence to courses on "Women and the Law." Although students of color have far fewer numbers, their role in the push for curricular change has been noteworthy, with a sufficient constituency to produce new courses and even new programs.

Competing Essentialisms: A Confrontation Between "The Canon/Core Values" and "Core Cultural Identities"

For the past two decades, major institutions of higher education faced profound discord about the meaning and implications of the new student body and its impact on the quality and content of the educational enterprise, including the shape and purpose of the curriculum and the very character of knowledge. From the perspective of the predominantly White and male senior faculty at these colleges and universities, current critiques of the orientation, bias, and focus of the academic curricula are frequently, even commonly, perceived as an assault: unwarranted "political" attacks on the core values of the institution.

In sharp contrast, for those who constitute the new and emerging critical mass of students, the calls for reform and curricular change are vital projects to give legitimate voice to the silenced and the ignored. With a level of moral authority, even indignation, they justify their demands and activities as imperatives to provide an arena for expression by women and people of color. Moreover, their interests are not only in curricular content, but also in staffing of faculty and administration and in the institution's funding priorities. To these advocates of new agendas and new social and cultural identities, the emerging critical mass of students, fueled by the demography of student enrollment, signals a welcome and compelling change that is long overdue. Consequently, they deride the reactions of the predominantly White male professoriate (of being under assault) as

nothing more than an effort to sustain dominance, patriarchy, and cultural colonialism as reflected in the scholarship of the past millennium.

The conflict of images is sometimes so different that neither side recognizes itself in the caricature provided by the opposition, and thus sees no use for serious engagement or dialogue about the other's version. In a classic case of figure and foreground, what is seen as an affirmation of new forms by the new student (assuming there are enough to achieve a critical mass) is seen as a reduction and diminution by those who experience themselves as guardians of the prevailing values, paradigms, journals, and professional associations of scholars in the major disciplines. The effort to assert a relevant and culturally affirming agenda around curricular enrichment that extends beyond the Judeo-Christian European tradition is seen as an effort to dilute and politicize the curriculum and to re-align the personnel and governance of existing institutions. In the sharpest conflicts, these competing points of view are presented without self-reflective distance, as two holistic, elementary essentialisms.

When seen from afar, both essentialist views appear to be overstated and not amenable to compromise. The actual extent of curricular change is slow and limited. Compared to the remarkable changes in the undergraduate student population, changes in faculty hiring of both women and people of color has been quite slow. The tenured faculty across the nation tend to be overwhelmingly White and male (approximately 85 percent). And even when women, who have made the greatest strides in diversifying the faculty, are appointed to professorships, they have made negligible inroads in the teaching of the "core" curriculum.

The essentialist critique gains a measure of legitimacy from its efforts to incorporate diverse views and cultural viewpoints. Nonetheless, some of the attempts are easily the subjects of caricature when they seem to celebrate a binary version of truth-seeking. Once again, the lesson from these opposing essentialist dialogues is that a schism still divides the guardians of the traditional canon, on the one hand, from the advocates for an independent and substantial place for supplementary curricula and newly-trained faculty to help teach the new curriculum, on the other.

Access versus Engagement:

From Civil Rights to Demands for Curricular Reform

While the NAACP, from 1954 to 1968, had been successful in dismantling the formal legal barriers to racial integration, the direct action wing of the Civil Rights Movement was instrumental in opening up access to a minority of Black students at traditionally White colleges and universities. In 1960, Blacks were only 4.3 percent of all college-enrolled students in the United States, and, as noted above, almost all of these

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were in the historically Black colleges in the South. As late as 1967, the Ivy League Schools had a total enrollment of only 2.3 percent Black. (For the same year, Black enrollment at "other prestigious institutions" was only 1.7 percent.) Even by 1968, Blacks constituted only 2.7 percent of the students at the University of California, Berkeley. By 1980, the proportion of Blacks in the Ivy Leagues had more than doubled from the 1967 figure, but they still constituted only 5.8 percent of the students (Karen 1991).

Shortly after the ghetto riots and the aftermath of the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy in the first half of 1968, many colleges actively sought to alter their racial and ethnic composition. Data from the American Council on Education's *National Norms for Entering College Students* reveal that in the fall of 1970, nearly 87 percent of college students in America were White; 9 percent were Black; and the combined total of Asian Americans, Native Americans and others was a mere 2.2 percent (Astin 1993). In contrast, the most recent figures available reveal that approximately three-quarters of all college students in the nation are White (U.S. Department of Education 1994).

There are two very distinct issues here that need to be independently addressed. The first is the matter of access. With so few Black students at traditionally White colleges and universities, simply opening up the doors three decades ago was a major issue. But the second matter, while distinct, is related and no less important: engagement. Access to the theater just means you get in; whether you enjoy the performance is another matter. That analogy expresses the way students engaged the curriculum then in place.

Prior to the 1960s, the physical separation of the student bodies by race, across the nation, was accompanied by general acceptance of the curriculum. Black students at the historically Black colleges rarely challenged the curriculum, and their White counterparts had not pressed for curricular changes for nearly a century (Brubacher and Rudy 1958; Carnochan 1993). That would change in 1968. In the spring, the assassination of Martin Luther King, the long hot summer in Detroit and Newark, and the Democratic convention in Chicago were followed by a fall storm of activity with demands for curricular reform and greater "relevance" across the nation's college campuses.

In the early 1970s, African-American students on college campuses all over the United States urged their local faculty and administrations to initiate and support curricular change. A recurrent theme was the need to see more of scholarship, content, and contributions of diverse groups to American society. A major debate developed at universities throughout the country during this period, centered on both a) the desire or need for increased attention in the curriculum to Blacks in American life, and b) the appropriate location of Black studies in the curriculum.

More militant Black students wanted separate Black studies departments. The faculty leadership frequently were opposed to that alternative. For example, it was not uncommon for the faculty who generally supported the need for more attention to Black studies to take the strong position that Black studies and other "ethnic studies" should be integrated into the existing curriculum of regularly scheduled courses. Nonetheless, separate Black studies programs and departments were established in many colleges. Some Black studies programs achieved solidity and national standing; others faded after a decade. There are systemic reasons for these outcomes. First, because these programs were generated in the heat of political turmoil off campus, the faculty tended to regard these programs with suspicion. Second, the major obstacles to the inclusion of "ethnic studies" in the traditional curriculum have followed the normal trajectory: powerful institutional forces shape academic careers. That is, in careerist terms, there is simply very little advantage for young scholars to move in this non-disciplinary direction. Senior scholars tend to have a vested interest in pursuing the same disciplinary corridors of inquiry and knowledge that got them their professorships.

The Context and Contours of Curricular Reform

In important ways, racial segregation has increased in the last half-century. The United States is a society remarkable for its residential racial segregation. Because of residence patterns, Black students tend to come to college from "the Black community" (Massey and Denton 1993). Like the students from Bologna, these students come to campus and "band together" to find social support, camaraderie, study groups, dating partners, and the full array of social, political, and educational life. They are often perceived by White students as "clannish" and self-segregating. However, this response ignores the political reality that "banding together" provides the possibility of an effective assault on a curriculum that these students regard as parochial, biased, and exclusive. One idealized version of the academy, the notion of the isolated individual who comes to a college campus to absorb the existing knowledge, envisions this individual free to make friends and acquaintances, to find programs that reflect the substance of their interests, to broaden their horizon, etc. But this assumes that curriculum is so constituted, and that the structures of the institution are so formed as to satisfy "the individuals" who arrive on campus. In fact, when "a critical mass" of a previously excluded group shows up, the chances of collective mobilization for change increase dramatically. In the period following the Civil Rights movement that opened the doors to a wider band of students, that was the experience.

Universities responded to these requests for curricular change after some "ugly incident" on campus heightened awareness of "the problem." The solution, at least in terms

of the curriculum, was to make one course in "ethnic or racial" studies a requirement, a development that had almost no impact on the general curriculum. But, there were some notable exceptions. The University of California at Berkeley would experience one of the more interesting and innovative developments. In 1987, the Berkeley Academic Senate appointed a Special Committee on Education and Ethnicity to review the situation and to identify approaches that might enhance the educational enterprise. The members chosen to sit on this committee were some of the preeminent national scholars in their fields, many with international reputations. When they assessed the situation, they determined that some of the key allegations made by those demanding curricular change had a strong basis. Namely, much of the course content throughout the curriculum did ignore a significant scholarship about different groups that had been a vital part of the full historic, literary, economic, and political make-up of American society.

After struggling among themselves for two years, and after going back to the drawing board for successive iterations, Berkeley's Special Committee came up with a unique recommendation. Other colleges and universities around the country tended to opt for one of two strategies: either a) a course on race or racism, or b) a course on world civilizations. Berkeley came up with a remarkable innovation: To satisfy the new American Cultures requirement, a course had to have a comparative framework with specific elements to the comparison. Broadly cast, the course would have to compare the experiences of at least three of the following five general groupings: Native Americans and Americans with forbears from Africa, Asia, Europe, or Latin America. Sub-groupings were certainly legitimate, as for instance, in comparing Irish, Chippewa, and Japanese.

Exactly two decades after the initial surge of advocacy by the Black students (later joined by Chicano, Asian-American, and Native American activist students), Berkeley's Academic Senate revisited the debate on how and whether to include more "ethnic studies" in the curriculum. In the spring of 1988, several faculty took the floor of the Senate to oppose the American Cultures Breadth requirement because, they argued, the better way of infusing the curriculum with the relevant materials would be through inclusion and incorporation of the various and diverse experiences and perspectives in the current curriculum. In theory, that position has merit, but it fails in practice. With only minor exceptions, two decades had passed (1968-1988) without any significant curricular emphasis or great inclusion of the experiences of Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans and Latino Americans. A review of the catalogs and relevant course syllabi for 1968 and 1988 bears this out.

The high visibility of Asian-American students in undergraduate programs is paralleled by their striking invisibility in the curriculum. Osajima (1995) has recently pub-

lished a remarkable report, summarizing his review of twelve college campuses. He notes that struggles to produce even a single course has frequently met with indifference and/or resistance. This, despite the fact that the Asian-American students can range from about ten to more than fifty percent (University of California-Irvine) of the student body. Indeed, whenever Asian-American concerns are included in the curriculum, it tends to come from Asian-American Studies. When Asian-American students in the social sciences wish to do empirical work, they are often "accused" by their faculty of wanting only to do "autobiographical history" or "autobiographical sociology" or "autobiographical psychology." It is a powerful double-bind. White faculty are not looking at the Asian-American experience. Yet, when Asian-American graduate students wish to fill the gap, they are demeaned as not being "objective", since their objective is to increase the study of their group in the curriculum, it is regarded as a political agenda.

The typical position of a faculty is the stance that what the faculty does is neutral, technical, and objective, and that any challenge to that is political. This is the most successful political stance of all: to describe one's own territory as "neutral" and to characterize all challenges as "merely political."

One of the remarkable side effects of the American Cultures requirement was the intellectual stimulation of the Berkeley faculty resulting from their re-visiting the curriculum. Not a single faculty member on the entire campus was teaching a course that would fit the requirement. Unlike other colleges and universities, which simply inserted an already existing course into the "ethnic studies requirement," the Berkeley faculty involved in this curricular innovation had to significantly re-tool. To teach such a course, one literally had to go back to the drawing board and examine some basic domain assumptions about what one was teaching. Engaging the comparative experience of different groups would, for many instructors, ultimately lead them to challenge fundamental questions of pedagogy and epistemology that they had previously taken for granted.

In the summer seminars sponsored by the Center for the Teaching and Study of American Cultures, I heard colleagues raise questions of each other about the choice of certain materials that inevitably led to questions of why they were incorporating some kinds of readings and not others. What began as a "bureaucratic necessity" soon converted into a requirement to defend one's choice on substantive and intellectual grounds. If critics who had early on said these would be nothing but feel-good courses had the opportunity to review the new content, they would find that these new courses were far more intellectually expansive, rigorous, and demanding than the cut-and-dried usual fare at the smorgashbord of American higher education that Hutchins so decried. Addressing this directly, a recent book by Lawrence Levine (1996) presents some per-

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suasive evidence that the curricular changes brought about by the new scholarship of the recent period has resulted in an "opening of the American mind."

Equally remarkable is the second spin-off of the new requirement. Berkeley's Center for the Teaching and Study of American Cultures has become an important regional center in the Bay Area for more than a dozen colleges. Many of them send faculty to seminars and colloquia, and to re-tool, absorb, fine-tune, restructure, and calibrate their own courses from the elaborated new syllabi for the more than 185 courses that are part of the Berkeley curriculum. The institutionalization of the American Cultures requirement has had beneficial spin-offs to other courses and has also had a positive effect on young faculty coming into the university.

For me, the most surprising development is that I underestimated just how much of a spin-off there would be for the whole faculty. Young faculty found institutional support for incorporating and developing their courses along a wide and varied range of topics. The more senior faculty found themselves raising new, interesting cross-fertilizing questions, engaging and challenging each other intellectually, and, for most of them, it was the first time in their entire careers that they had so engaged each other across disciplinary boundaries. Finally, this mutual engagement of a faculty impelled to be more comprehensive instructors actually generated a feedback loop, directly influencing research questions raised in newly emerging research projects. In this way, the shifting character of the student body impacted knowledge production itself.

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The Dynamics of Diversity & Higher Education: Initiatives & Challenges in the Indian Context



INTRODUCTION

India has for centuries been a truly pluralistic, heterogeneous, multiethnic, and somnolent society. However, in recent years, Indian society has been shaken up. A sharply increased awareness of group identities has led to conflicts. Longstanding hierarchies of caste, region, religion, and language are being challenged. The "lower castes" are rejecting the superiority of the upper castes, the southerners are defying the hegemony of northerners, non-Hindi speaking people are demanding linguistic freedom, and non-Hindus are questioning Hindu supremacy. Such developments call for an examination of the cultural dynamic that is evolving in Indian society. Although this dynamic affects all spheres of activity, this paper will limit its focus to the dynamic of diversity and its impact within the higher education system.

India's system of higher education confronts three kinds of environmental problems. First, there is wide variation in the quality of secondary schools from which college students come. Driven by the desire for upward mobility, large numbers of underprepared students are entering college. Second, the colleges themselves have little autonomy and face considerable political interference in their efforts to maintain basic academic standards. Third, the employment market is characterized by large disparities in salaries, with a bias toward students from elite institutions. Under these circumstances, diversity initiatives within colleges face formidable external pressures.

This paper first describes the evolution of Indian society's present cultural dynamic. This description is followed by an overview of the higher education system and some of the dilemmas posed by the demographic diversity emerging on college campuses. The paper then presents case studies of selected colleges, which are used to explore divisive factors and their impact on campus life. There is also a discussion of the challenges faced in implementing the Campus Diversity Initiative (CDI) funded by the Ford Foundation.¹ The paper concludes with an analysis of emerging issues and their implications for managing diversity in Indian higher education.

THE CHANGING DIVERSITY CONTEXT IN INDIAN SOCIETY

Indians perceive their cultural identity as essentially composite, which emphasizes the importance of tolerance, accommodation, and coexistence. Scholars such as Srinivas (1967), Singh (1973, 1986), and Narayanan (1991) have pointed out that tolerance and respect for the views and feelings of others have been hallmarks of Indian culture for centuries. However, India is currently undergoing tremendous social, political, economic, and technological transformations. Motivated by a desire to make quick political fortunes, parties and politicians have politicized ethno-linguistic, regional, and communal identities to create new conflicts among ethnic groups. The noticeable upsurge in the ethnic mix is causing turbulence in society.

In an unpublished manuscript that examines the threat to India's pluralistic integrity, Sharma identifies politicization, centralization, and a development orientation as three main factors leading to this ethnic resurgence.

Despite its federal system, India has a highly centralized structure. The Indian government suppresses any evidence of regional or ethnic urge for autonomy or the right to cultural self-determination under the pretext of preserving unity over diversity. Deprived groups have responded militantly to disparities in economic and social development, which they perceive as outcomes of discrimination. These actions have caused a sense of ethnic insecurity, which in turn has stimulated ethnic reactivity.

In India, ethnicity is a phenomenon comprising complex layers of identities including religious, linguistic, regional, caste, and sectarian dimensions. Traditionally, people of different identities lived in groups within their own secure surroundings, for example, in rural India, certain streets were earmarked for the upper caste, and people belonging to the lower castes were not even allowed to enter. People accepted these rigid caste boundaries without protest. Indian society has been strongly patriarchal, and in some cases women were subjected to the "purdah" system, in which they were confined to their homes and not allowed even to be seen. With the feminist movement and the call for the liberation of women, these once-accepted practices are being challenged.

Urbanization and the growth of employment opportunities have resulted in greater geographical mobility. The sociocultural transformation from extended families to nuclear families, the increasing incidence of intercaste marriages (which was unthinkable a few decades ago), and other such factors are forcing people from heterogeneous backgrounds to live closer together. This coexistence causes conflict, confusion, and insecurity regarding the relative social status of people from varied backgrounds. Indian society is in a state of flux, and the dilemmas of diversity are becoming more and more complex, challenging the very concept of unity in diversity.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN INDIA: AN OVERVIEW

India's higher education system, one of the largest in the world, has seen tremendous growth in the country's five decades of independence. In 1950, India had just twenty-seven universities. It now has more than 214. The number of undergraduate colleges has gone from 578 in 1950 to more than 8,200 in 1994. Similar growth has occurred in the number of professional institutions, which has risen from 124 in 1950 to 794 in 1993. Student enrollment has risen from 0.4 million in 1950 to 5.05 million in 1994. Nearly 89 percent of the students are undergraduates.

In addition to rapid quantitative growth, the government is constantly introducing reforms and innovations to improve the quality of education, to meet the changing aspirations of the people, and to satisfy the demands of the workplace. One of the major factors that constrains reform in higher education, especially at the undergraduate level, is the still prevalent colonial legacy of the affiliating system,² in which the college curriculum is controlled by the university with which the college is affiliated.

Awareness of the irrelevancies, distortions, and omissions in the curriculum is growing as this vast country, with its centralized control of education, finds it increasingly difficult to satisfy the diverse educational needs of people from different backgrounds. For example, feminist activists are calling for the inclusion of gender-related dimensions and the correction of gender distortions in textbooks. Similarly, issues of human rights and other social concerns are made conspicuous by their absence from the curriculum. Another constraining factor in the Indian system is the emphasis on examinations and grades at the expense of meaningful learning for personal development. Except in some enlightened autonomous colleges, inclusion of diversity issues in the curriculum has been totally ignored.

Higher Education and the Social Context

Education is a subsystem of the larger society. The quantitative growth of higher education in India is partly in response to the growing population. In addition, the quality and complexion of the higher education system is changing rapidly to meet the evolving aspirations of different sections of society. Indian society is stratified by divisions of caste, class, religion, region, language, and sex. The disadvantaged sections of the population, including the lower castes, members of minority religions such as Islam, and women, have not received their fair share of the benefits of education. In India's emerging democratic polity, officials increasingly view education as an instrument for eliminating the accumulated distortions of the past and realizing the ideals of an egalitarian social order. In recent years, several education commissions have promulgated policies, including the National Policy of Education, revised in 1992, that fully recognize the role of education in providing opportunities for these disadvantaged groups.

The rapid transformations that are taking place in society are also reflected on college campuses. In traditional Indian society, different castes and other groups lived separately. As already noted, growing urbanization and increasing migration from rural areas are making societal compositions more heterogeneous and complex. Similarly, until a few decades ago, the upper castes dominated educational institutions, especially higher education institutions, and drew students mainly from the middle and upper-middle classes of society. However, in the past few decades, there has been a demographic shift on college campuses. While the demographic change has not been uniform across all institutions, it has been dramatic in cases such as the one illustrated in Table 1. This may be an extreme case, but such trends can be found all over the country.

Table 1: Percentage Enrollment of Students Belonging to Different Castes

CASTE	1988-89	1993-94
Forward	70.9	34.1
Backward	21.3	34.4
Other Backward Castes	1.5	6.2
Scheduled Castes/Tribes	6.7	25.2

There has also been a significant change in the gender composition of the student body. The number of colleges exclusively for women has increased from 647 in 1982-83 to 1,070 in 1993-94. At the same time, men's colleges have been decreasing. Even the missionary colleges originally established for men have opened their doors to women.

Several factors have contributed to this changing demographic profile of college campuses. First, there has been an increasing demand for higher education as a vehicle for social and economic mobility, especially by those who have been educationally deprived for social and cultural reasons. Advocates of equal opportunity have also articulated this demand. Second, in response to the demand, the government has established more colleges in rural areas, which has considerably increased access to higher education for the weaker sections of society. Third, more women are seeking higher education, which has resulted in the establishment of more women's colleges and the conversion of men's colleges into coeducational institutions. Fourth, the Constitution now provides for the reservation of enrollments for members of Scheduled Castes (SC), Scheduled

Tribes (ST), and Other Backward Castes (OBC). Linguistic and religious minorities have received special privileges in running educational institutions. Also, vernacular languages are being promoted as media of instruction in higher education to preserve historic cultural identities and, at the same time, to encourage the sharing of common national values and goals.

While the policies themselves are progressive and designed to undo the accumulated distortions of the past, a wide gap exists between policy and practice. Implementation of the policy provisions has not adequately resolved many of the problems. For example, the issue of the language or medium of instruction persists. While official policy promotes the use of regional or vernacular language, the demand for instruction in the more prestigious and marketable English medium increases.

There has been more conflict than consensus regarding these issues. Efforts to promote equality are perceived as undermining merit. Differences and divisiveness are being accentuated rather than appreciation of diversity. There is widespread neglect of issues and problems relating to cultural diversity.

Dilemmas of Diversity in Higher Education

The close interaction between the dynamically diverse nature of Indian society and the democratic structure of the country poses several dilemmas and challenges for the higher education system. It has become imperative that the challenges of diversity be understood and managed with sensitivity. Otherwise, they are likely to lead to what Young (1990) calls "the five faces of oppression," namely, exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural invasion, and violence.

Colleges are facing problems in translating diverse expectations into policy and practice. These expectations involve issues of individual and group rights, relations between majority and minority groups, integration, and control. These issues highlight the complexities of education in a multicultural society. Ambiguities, contradictions, and paradoxes abound. Dilemmas arise out of the need to strike an appropriate balance between the educational goals of ethnic minority groups and those of the larger society. Furthermore, educational institutions are expected to promote the conflicting goals of cultural diversity, national integration, and social cohesion.

As has already been pointed out, college campuses are becoming more heterogeneous. Students of different religions, castes, regional languages, and political identities are for the first time coming together on college and university campuses. Vested interest groups and politicians are now exploiting these cultural divisions and promoting casteism, communal hatred, and fundamentalism. These forces of division have become a disruptive influence on campus.

In India, diversity initiatives in higher education are usually understood as providing initial access for disadvantaged students who have been kept out of the system. Secondary schools have made very little effort to prepare these students for participation in higher education and such education in a diverse society. There is little awareness of the need to focus on the total development of students—for example, transforming the curriculum, providing positive interventions that prepare students to function effectively in a diverse workplace, improving campus climate, and promoting harmony and understanding on campus. As socially unprepared students, especially first-generation students, crowd into colleges, the task of socialization falls entirely on the colleges. As Moses (1994) points out, in today's world, which requires greater knowledge about diversity and the capacity to interact with people from diverse backgrounds, most institutions should make it part of their mission to educate students to live in a diverse world.

Higher education is expected to bring about transformations through excellence, accountability, and achievement. However, conflict often arises between imperatives of diversity and imperatives of excellence and accountability. Emphasizing excellence and achievement excludes many disadvantaged students and therefore reduces diversity. Conversely, many educators believe that increasing diversity by admitting disadvantaged students interferes with the pursuit of excellence. This conflict relates closely to the policy of "positive discrimination" in admitting students from culturally and educationally disadvantaged groups, based solely on their caste. The question here is whether, in the interest of social justice, educators should compromise their academic standards to accommodate academically ill-prepared students. Balancing equity with excellence and achievement has been a serious challenge to higher education, and these issues are still being debated.

Increasing social and economic pressures and the growing perception that survival is at stake have encouraged particularistic loyalties to religion, caste, language, or region. These loyalties influence campus life and have, in the recent past, added to a growing tendency toward intolerance and intergroup conflict among students and faculty. Politicians are fully exploiting this situation for their own advantage.

Education should help students reconcile the concerns and aspirations of different sections of the society and foster social cohesion as a whole. Educators have the responsibility to help students undermine myths, overcome stereotypes and prejudices, and promote intercultural understanding. In order to reach these objectives, the education system should promote the positive values of diversity. For that purpose, educational institutions need to understand their campus climate and reexamine their curricular and extracurricular agendas.

Understanding the Campus Diversity Climate

Diversity is a dynamic phenomenon, not a static one, and it changes over time. On campus, it is shaped by the institution's distinctive character. Analyzing this dynamic in the context of its institutional setting will facilitate the management of diversity.

Understanding campus climate is a critical element of managing diversity in colleges and universities. The California Post-Secondary Education Commission (1992) defines campus climate as "the formal and informal environment—both institutionally and community based—in which individuals learn, teach, work and live in a post-secondary setting." In other words, campus climate is a collage of the interpersonal and group dynamics that form the experiences of college students and faculty. To gain insight into the climate of a campus, it is necessary to determine the significance of factors that different segments of the student population, especially minorities and underprivileged students, perceive to be promoting educational equity and quality. We also need to assess institutional policies, programs, practices, attitudes, and expectations.

Moreover, understanding campus climate necessitates assessment, which involves probing and exposing the policies, practices, and attitudes that prevail in the institution. While a well-designed assessment of campus climate has several benefits, some cautions regarding diversity issues should be noted. Assessment may reveal that college students and faculty perceive some aspects of an institution's climate as detracting from the achievement of educational goals and diversity. In some cases, the revelation can create or intensify divisiveness on the campus. Such divisiveness can be a major educational impediment, especially in institutions that would rather push the problem under the carpet than face the challenges squarely. In fact, this researcher was refused permission to assess the campus climate for diversity in one institution known for its highly volatile environment. Another institution had some reservations at the beginning of the process but eventually provided full support for the study.

The difficulties involved in assessing institutions' climates notwithstanding, such assessment has proven invaluable for developing diversity practices on campus. In the face of these types of situations, Edgert (1994) has identified six major benefits of institutional assessment of campus climate in relation to diversity issues. These benefits are listed below.

1. A better understanding of campus climate and its influence on achieving diversity goals ought to enhance in all institutional members the capacity and skills necessary to participate in an increasingly multicultural, complex society.

2. Campus climate influences students' performance and decisions about their educational and career options. As such an influence, information about campus climate may

enhance institutional effectiveness and efficiency in terms of measures such as retention and graduation rates.

3. An assessment of campus climate provides a mechanism for shifting discussions from idiosyncratic instances to collective appraisals of institutional life. Institutional decision makers can identify campus experiences in such a way that they can differentiate between singular, isolated, and transitory perceptions and interactions—possibly requiring individual attention—and frequent perceptions and patterns of interactions that may be rooted in the fabric of the institution.

4. Assessments of campus climate can target institutional strengths and weaknesses so that decision makers can a) determine which institutional programs, policies, and practices are enhancing the perceived achievement of diversity goals, and b) establish priorities for actions that the institution should initiate, or continue, in order to meet those goals.

5. The development of a longitudinal, cyclical assessment system can provide information on the effectiveness of specific, planned interventions designed to achieve diversity goals and identify unplanned institutional changes that may affect the attainment of diversity goals.

6. Assessing campus climate regularly can allow administrators to act before a major and embarrassing crisis occurs on campus.

The first challenge to managing diversity is a willingness to face reality, understand it, and use it as a basis for strategic intervention.

DIVISIVE FACTORS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES IN INDIA

As a prelude to launching diversity initiatives on college campuses, the Ford Foundation commissioned case studies of seven colleges located in different parts of the country. The foundation's objective was to understand the current status of diversity issues, examine how they affect the campus climate, and determine what it is that Indian officials are doing to manage them. The Ford Foundation carefully selected different types of colleges, keeping in mind factors such as regional representation, type and nature of management, student composition, and so forth. Although the number of case studies is small, they have revealed some significant diversity issues in Indian colleges and universities.

The seven case studies were produced by three independent consultants³ using a combination of two different methodologies. Edgert (1994) points out that no single methodology is likely to yield the richness of information needed to gain a comprehensive picture of campus climate. Both the survey and group discussion methods have their strengths and weaknesses. In these case studies, researchers used both methods for gath-

ering data. The following paragraphs detail some of the salient findings of these studies regarding the major divisive factors, the impact of diversity on student life, sensitivity to diversity, and strategies adopted.

Religion

Although several religions have coexisted in India for centuries, communal interreligious clashes have been increasing lately, mainly inflamed by politically vested interests. However, researchers did not identify religion as a major factor of conflict on college campuses. In one "minority" institution managed by Christian missionaries, there was an underlying feeling that Christians enjoyed extra privileges, but there was no major overt conflict.⁴ Recent communal riots in the region did give rise to a sense of insecurity, but education officials reported no major conflicts on the campuses. In fact, some colleges responded positively by containing and condemning the communal disturbances.

Gender

The proportion of women's enrollment has increased considerably, reaching nearly 35 percent of the total enrollment. Women continue to be concentrated in traditionally female-oriented courses. Except in metropolitan colleges, female students do not mix freely with male students, and they keep a low profile, even at coeducational colleges. In some states such as Gujarat and Maharashtra, female students say they feel equal to men. Yet women in the Hindi belt of Bihar, Rajasthan, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh, do feel intimidated by men. "Eve teasing," a form of sexual harassment, is a real problem on some college campuses.

Region

The studies identified regional identity as a significant divisive factor. A general hostility and lack of interaction existed between the "local" students who came from the institution's state or region and those "outside" students who came from other regions. This was mainly because the locals perceived the outsiders as using limited resources that rightfully belonged to the locals. Further, reluctance on the part of outsiders to accept and adjust to local customs, especially regarding food, and a shared feeling of cultural invasion inevitably led to minor clashes, especially in student hostels.

Language

India is a country in which 200 languages are spoken, each by at least 10,000 persons. Of these, only eighteen have been officially recognized. Regional identity is closely linked to language identity. Although a variety of languages is represented in a given

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student body, most students speak the regional language. Here again, a division exists between locals and outsiders. However, there is an additional divide between English-speaking, upper-class urban students and lower-class rural students who speak regional languages. One college reported minor clashes between students speaking different languages, but the situation was defused by timely intervention.

Caste

In India, the caste system has existed for centuries with clear hierarchical demarcations between "forward" and "backward," or disadvantaged/lowly castes. The government has made constitutional provisions reserving spaces for the admission of students belonging to the backward castes. Until recently, 15 percent of enrollments were reserved for the Scheduled Castes and 7.5 percent for the Scheduled Tribes. However, based on a report prepared by the Mandal Commission nearly a decade ago, the government identified a group designated Other Backward Castes, and has recommended special reservation quotas for these castes, increasing the percentage of reservations up to nearly 70 percent. This has led to much agitation by an anti-reservation group of students, resulting in the demise of the government. Caste group polarization has become a very sensitive issue on college campuses, and politicians with vested interests are escalating it. Reservations based on caste have become a major source of tension. The caste factor plays a significant role in teacher recruitment and promotion. It also has produced some backlash effects on teacher morale.

Socioeconomic Background

The divisive factor of socioeconomic background is a complex of various background factors that boil down to the difference between the "haves" and "have-nots." The urban, upper-caste students come from better socioeconomic backgrounds, have been educated in English-medium schools, are well informed, possess good communication skills, and have the confidence that accompanies all these advantages. On the other hand, rural students are generally from backward areas, have been instructed in the vernacular medium, are less informed, have poor communication skills, and often suffer from low self-esteem. This disparity divides the students.

Political Identity

The political factor has gained great significance, especially since the Indian government lowered the voting age to eighteen, a decision that made most students eligible to vote. Political ideologies and parties come to the forefront during student elections. In some colleges, these elections have led to ugly incidents and, at times, to violence and

even murder. Some colleges have contained such disruptions by effective management of the situation, while others have banned student elections altogether.

Among the divisive factors, religion and gender do not play a central role, and region and language have some impact; caste and socioeconomic background seem to be the critical factors. Wherever wide socioeconomic disparities and external political exploitation existed, the divisiveness became pronounced and produced Young's (1990) five faces of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural invasion, and violence.

Diversity and Academic Life

Students from disadvantaged families are mostly first-generation students and have had inadequate schooling conducted in the vernacular medium in poorly endowed rural schools. On the other hand, students from elite families have had their earlier education in English and in high-quality urban schools. This difference has affected classroom atmosphere, as the same teaching style is not suitable to students of diverse capabilities. Students trained in the vernacular medium have communication problems and find it difficult to follow lessons in English, which is the medium of instruction in most colleges.

Teachers in the institutions studied pointed out that a wide academic gap exists between rural disadvantaged students and urban elite students. Whenever the disadvantaged students were in the majority, the teaching standards had to be lowered to meet their needs. Teachers considered this a frustrating experience. Some teachers in prestigious colleges that had traditionally catered only to elite students complained about having to exert extra effort to teach disadvantaged students. It was clear that some teachers could not, and do not, handle this challenge effectively.

Remedial programs have made modest attempts to help rural students and those of economically disadvantaged classes. These attempts have not been very successful so far, because students themselves do not like to be identified as belonging to weaker sections of society.

Diversity and Social Interaction

Colleges in India focus mainly on equipping students to handle the complexities of their academic studies; they make little effort to help students from diverse backgrounds interact meaningfully. Left to themselves, students form their own groups based on various identities. Regional identity, with common language, food, and other cultural similarities, is one factor that brings students together. A distinctive dialect not only contributes to the formation of groups, but also keeps others out. This exclusivity was evident at one of the rural colleges, where the tribal students spoke a unique dialect that

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was different from the local form of Gujarati spoken by the non-tribal students. In another instance, at an urban elite college, students aligned themselves according to whether the group spoke English or Tamil.

Diversity is also perceived to have some positive dimensions. Some students reported that their heterogeneous backgrounds helped them understand each other's cultures and traditions. In some colleges, students reported that there was a conscious desire to learn more about other cultures, in order to overcome prejudices and stereotypes about other groups. Students even expressed the view that this interaction would broaden their outlook and help them function more effectively in the workplace. The consultants noted, however, that these intercultural exchanges usually occur between students of similar socioeconomic backgrounds.

Diversity and Disharmony

Differences that have lain dormant can erupt into violent outbursts because of lack of communication, misunderstanding, and deliberate misinformation. The magnitude of the problem depends on the tension that has been building among groups, quite often over competition for limited resources.

Some undesirable outcomes of diversity on campus may be traced to prejudice and group stereotypes. At the same time, people with common identities feel confident, safe, and comfortable sharing views and opinions with each other. These two facts increase the distance between groups with different cultural identities. With cut-throat competition a reality in the face of limited job opportunities and access to other benefits, students from different economic backgrounds who also enjoy a close relationship to their caste or regional identity find it difficult to coexist. The increase in violence and friction on campus may also cause increased frustration and unemployment. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons why these conflicts generally do not exist at professional colleges and other prestigious institutions.

Another major factor contributing to divisions on campus is that India's academic programs are not designed for group interaction. Government officials expect co-curricular activities to respond to this need. But unless colleges are making deliberate efforts to bring people from different backgrounds together, the comfort produced by shared identities prevails, and the groups move farther apart.

Sensitivity to Diversity

Colleges vary widely in their sensitivity to diversity. Some colleges exhibit a heightened awareness of diversity and are proactive in formulating clear policies, programs, and strategies for managing diversity, viewing it as a positive force that can

bring greater harmony to the campus. Some colleges and universities have initiated both curricular and extracurricular interventions to promote harmony. Some institutions have incorporated the dimensions of Indian diversity into foundation courses on Indian heritage and on the social and cultural history of the country.

College officials have also attempted to conduct seminars, symposia, conferences, and debates to discuss various aspects of diversity. They have organized cultural programs of music, drama, and street plays. Artistic activities have produced posters, paintings, and art exhibitions that promote an appreciation of and sensitivity to diversity. Several student bodies have reached out to communities around the college and developed community service programs. When intergroup conflicts have occurred, students have conducted peace marches in response. These are only some examples of the initiatives that college students and faculty have attempted.

In some colleges, diversity receives little attention, and college officials make no conscious efforts to encourage interaction among students from various backgrounds. Some colleges are reluctant to encourage students to discuss diversity issues that are considered explosive, such as the Mandal Commission Report on the reservation policy or the communal violence that resulted from the destruction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya.

INITIATIVES, IMPLEMENTATION, AND IMPACT

The Ford Foundation initially funded twenty-three higher education institutions (see Appendix to this chapter for the list of colleges), selected from all over the country, for the CDI. These institutions include two universities and one open university, and are mainly undergraduate colleges that offer three-year bachelor's degree programs. Some colleges also offer two-year postgraduate programs leading to a master's degree. The selected colleges represent various types of institutions, including government-managed and private institutions, women's colleges and coeducational colleges, colleges managed by Christian, Hindu, and Muslim trusts, affiliated colleges, and autonomous colleges.

Each college has been implementing the CDI project in its own unique style. The initiatives fall broadly into two categories—curricular and cocurricular. The next section of the paper attempts to highlight strengths and weaknesses in the implementation of the projects and to describe the opportunities and challenges encountered. The next section also discusses the initial assessment of the project's effect on students, teachers, and the community.

Curricular Efforts

The major strength of the curricular efforts is that the institutions can reach a larger segment of the student population. Since the curricular interventions occur inside the

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classroom, the chances are greater that colleges will institutionalize and sustain these efforts after the foundation withdraws its funding for the project. The major weakness is that in affiliated colleges the prevailing affiliating system offers only limited opportunities for curricular change. Among the participating institutions, only a few have made any significant efforts in this direction. On the other hand, the autonomous colleges involved in CDI have taken advantage of their freedom and introduced diversity-related courses. Unfortunately, few colleges are willing to venture into these unconventional areas. It is interesting to observe that many colleges are not even aware of the need for such courses. Even when they are, they show little concern for or commitment to moving in the direction of establishing diversity-related courses. Another significant hurdle is the lack of competence or resources of time, expertise, and finances required to develop the curriculum.

A major challenge to curricular intervention is the intense focus on examinations that characterizes the Indian system. Even in an innovative diversity course, the educational objectives may get lost, and the course may deteriorate into a rote-learning exercise for the purpose of getting a good grade and passing a required examination. Unless faculty members tailor the teaching-learning process to this type of course and colleges train the teachers to use interactive pedagogy, the true objective of engaging students in active learning will not be served. Curricular interventions have enormous potential, but at the same time pose serious challenges.

Cocurricular Efforts

The strength of the cocurricular initiatives is their flexibility, variety, and independence. While the affiliating system constrains curricular efforts, colleges have total freedom to organize cocurricular activities. Various clubs and societies, such as the National Social Service and the National Cadet Corps, already exist on college campuses. Diversity initiatives can become part of these ongoing activities. However, these activities tend to be sporadic, depending on the interest and enthusiasm of teachers and students, the availability of facilities for meetings and presentations and, above all, financial support for organizing these activities. Commitment and involvement of the institutional leadership is another significant factor.

While curricular interventions can reach a large number of students, student participation in cocurricular activities is restricted and selective. Often, the same set of assertive students consistently dominates these cocurricular activities, while those with a greater need for the activities get left out. The colleges need to make more deliberate efforts to reach their students. Large-scale outreach programs that colleges have launched on CDI campuses are likely to taper off as external funding evaporates. Institutionalizing and sustaining these programs poses a real challenge.

Impact of the Initiative

Even in the first year of the CDI, visible indicators of the impact of the curricular and cocurricular efforts began to emerge. The level of awareness increased among students. They are enthusiastic, receptive, and eager to participate. They report a wide spectrum of objectives, ranging from the perception of CDI as "an initiative of humanism to tackle all human problems" to "an opportunity provided for personal development through extracurricular activities that would provide useful skills for future life." Wherever the CDI focused on community outreach activities, students saw the objective as "providing an opportunity for social service to the community."

The assessment of these programs revealed to students a very strong and positive perception of the benefits and impact of the CDI project. These benefits range from personal development to societal transformation and national integration. The students feel that their participation and involvement in the various activities has helped them gain a deeper understanding of and greater sensitivity to the concept of equality among people of different castes and cultures. They have also experienced enhanced sensitivity to issues of gender equality. The students have greater confidence and feel empowered to participate in the transformation of society while containing its disruptive influences.

The assessment revealed less of an impact on teachers. The teachers could be classified into three categories: One group was totally committed and invested much of their time and energy in organizing, conducting, and participating in CDI activities. A second group was totally indifferent. The third group was skeptical and rather critical of CDI. Some even felt that CDI disrupted the curriculum.

It is significant to note that the community and the parents, overall, have been very positive about the CDI. Some students reported that their discussions with family members about CDI objectives had a positive impact on the family's appreciation and acceptance of diversity. The community perceived CDI as fostering greater understanding. One member of the community was very excited and remarked that the "twentieth century will be remembered as an era of religion as a negative force, and CDI will be remembered as a project that has elevated humanism itself."

CHALLENGES OF IMPLEMENTING DIVERSITY INITIATIVES

Getting People Involved

Students must be involved. Some students are reluctant to participate because of the fear that campus diversity activities will interfere with their academic pursuits. This is a major issue that the colleges must handle with sensitivity and tact.

Getting teachers involved is the next crucial task. Many teachers are not interested in doing anything beyond what is minimally required of them. Involvement in

campus diversity activities means an investment of time and effort for which there may not be any reward, either in terms of money or promotion prospects. Only highly motivated and committed teachers are willing to take on these additional responsibilities.

Motivating teachers involves encouraging them to develop a clear understanding of their role in the project and to maintain a positive attitude toward that role. Some teachers are confused about their role in this project. Are they responsible only for academic input or for overall student development? If teachers are perceived to be responsible only for the academic development of students, they will respond by imposing a narrow focus on academic competence. On the other hand, if teachers also feel responsible for the total development of students—intellectual, emotional, aesthetic, moral, physical, and cultural—then they must move beyond academics. They must be sensitized, oriented, and given the knowledge and skills necessary for performing this role effectively. It is not enough for teachers to show concern and commitment to the project; they also need opportunities to develop their competence.

In the prevailing affiliating system, in which teachers are required merely to present the given syllabus and prepare students for an externally conducted examination, college officials need to show teachers how they can incorporate diversity themes into the given curriculum. Teachers also need training in the pedagogy of engaging diversity themes, which requires a highly interactive approach rather than the one-way communication of the lecture method.

Resistance to change, a desire for the status quo, and unwillingness to venture into innovative programs are natural reactions, and colleges should expect such reactions from teachers. Colleges need to make specific efforts to prepare teachers to accept new responsibilities and to provide opportunities for them to get the necessary knowledge and skills to perform effectively. Teachers need to be constantly motivated in their efforts; they need also to be recognized and rewarded to reinforce their involvement. Ultimately, colleges need to empower teachers to find meaning in their efforts and to derive satisfaction from such efforts.

This is a challenging yet feasible task. In fact, recognizing the importance of faculty development for the success of the CDI, the Ford Foundation has been organizing orientation programs for teachers from the participating colleges. Some of the colleges have themselves initiated in-house faculty training programs. The Ford Foundation is exploring the possibility of involving and using the services and facilities available in existing academic staff colleges all over the country for the purpose of training teachers to implement CDI activities at more colleges.⁵

The commitment of participating institutions' leadership is another issue that cannot be taken for granted. These leaders include both the head of the institution and the

higher management committee members who provide the required support. The success of these efforts depends on the leaders' ability to motivate teachers by supporting and encouraging them, because campus diversity programs must be a team effort. Moreover, college and university officials need to find a way to institutionalize and sustain these efforts beyond the expiration of external funding. It is not enough to mobilize support within the institution. Parents can also play a significant role in supporting the involvement of their students in these extracurricular activities. Some parents may fear that these activities may distract students from academic work. They may also fear that campus diversity activity will disrupt the stability of family values and traditions. Vested interest groups in the community may feel politically threatened by diversity efforts. But, colleges cannot function as isolated parts of society. Getting key persons involved, on and off campus, is a major challenge for diversity initiatives.

Monitoring and Evaluation

One major problem in India is the overwhelming enthusiasm for launching new programs, without enough thought about monitoring and evaluation. With no systematic monitoring taking place, evaluation becomes difficult. Proper baseline data for studying the program's impact is not available. Quite often, the objectives are not articulated or written down. This lack of clarity makes it difficult to determine how well objectives have been achieved. Evaluation is perceived by some as a threat to the leaders of programs and not as a feedback mechanism for initiating corrective measures. In addition, at times the evaluation comes so late in the project's implementation that the feedback has no value.

Sustainability of the Initiatives

Sustaining diversity initiatives is a major challenge for any externally funded project. Very little thought goes into planning how to continue the activities when the external funds are gone. Typically, as the project ends, institutions start hunting for funds from various sources that may or may not materialize. Another challenge to sustainability comes when changes occur in leadership or in the personnel involved in the project's implementation. If the commitment to the program is vested in a single person or in a very small number of leaders, the project may become orphaned and will subsequently face extinction.

EMERGING ISSUES

Diversity is a fluid concept. Economic conditions and employment pressures, competition for limited resources, the demand for social justice and equal opportunity for the disadvantaged, the resistance to relinquishing traditional

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privilege, vested interests of both academicians and politicians, turbulence in the society of which the colleges are a part—all these ingredients combine to complicate the issue of diversifying higher education.

Managing diversity presents both an opportunity and a challenge. It offers teachers opportunities to use the classroom as a workshop for exploring contemporary sociological issues with students from varied backgrounds. It presents a challenge because the teacher has to match a standardized curriculum and common assessment to a wide range of learning needs and must do so with large classes. Apart from this academic dimension, diversity introduces problems of social interaction and harmony that have to be resolved on campus. Institutions must face this dual educational challenge.

Students know the differences and similarities among people. Educational institutions are responsible for converting this consciousness into deliberate learning. Nakamishi (1994) has pointed out that diversity in higher education will be explosive if left unaddressed. The challenges of diversity are many, and colleges play an important role in building the capacity of students to thrive on intellectual and human diversity for the good of the entire community.

APPENDIX

List of institutions receiving grants from the Ford Foundation for the Campus Diversity Initiative. Institutions at numbers 1 to 11 have been awarded a grant of \$50,000.00 spread over a period of three years and those at number 12 to 23 have been awarded a pilot grant of \$10,000.00 spread over a period of two years.

Sl. NO.	NAME AND LOCATION	MANAGEMENT	TYPE OF INSTITUTION
1.*	S.N.D.T. Women's University, Mumbai, Maharashtra	State Government	Affiliated Women's Colleges
2.*	St. Marys College, Tuticorin, Tamil Nadu	Minority Religion Christian Missionary	Autonomous
3.	Sardar Patel University, Vallabh Vidyanagar, Gujarat	State Government	Unitary University
4.	Farook College, Calicut, Kerala	Minority Religion, Muslim Trust	Affiliated
5.	Kalimpong College, Darjeeling, West Bengal	State Government	Affiliated
6.	Jai Hind College of Arts, Science & Commerce, Dhule, Maharashtra	Private Trust	Affiliated
7.	Parvathibai Chowgule College of Arts and Science, Margao, Goa	Private Trust	Affiliated
8.*	Seethalakshmi Ramaswami College, Tiruchirapalli, Tamil Nadu	Private Trust	Autonomous
9.	Sahyadri College of Science, Shimoga, Karnataka	State Government	Affiliated
10.	D.A.V. (P.G.) College, Ajmer, Rajasthan	State Government	Affiliated
11.*	Savithri Girls College, Ajmer, Rajasthan	State Government	Affiliated
12.	M.P.C. College, Baripada, Orissa	State Government	Affiliated
13.	Government Narmada Mahavidyala, Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh	State Government	Affiliated
14.	St. Xaviers College, Palayam Kottai, Tamil Nadu	Minority Religion, Christian Missionary	Autonomous
15.	St. Joseph's College, Tiruchirapalli, Tamil Nadu	Minority Religion, Christian Missionary	Autonomous
16.	St. Bede's College, Shmla, Himachal Pradesh	Minority Religion, Christian Missionary	Autonomous
17.	Nowrosjee Wadia College, Pune, Maharashtra	Private Trust	Affiliated

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18 *	Isabella Thoburn College, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh	Minority Religion, Christian Missionary	Affiliated
19.	Ashutosh College, Calcutta, West Bengal	Private Trust	Affiliated
20.	Yashwant Rao Chavan Open University, Nashik, Maharashtra	State Government	Open University
21.	Presidency College, Calcutta	State Government	Affiliated
22.	Government Art and Science College, Durg, Madhya Pradesh	State Government	Affiliated
23.	College of Arts & Commerce, Zuarinagoa, Goa	Private Trust	Affiliated

* Exclusive Women's Colleges.

ENDNOTES

1. The author wishes to acknowledge the support provided by the Ford Foundation, New Delhi, India in preparing this paper.
2. India still has colleges affiliated with universities. This means that the colleges do not have any freedom in formulating the curricula or syllabi, or in conducting examinations, which are all centrally managed by the affiliating university. Some universities in India have more than 200 affiliating colleges. On an experimental basis, about 105 colleges, out of 8,500, have received autonomous status. Autonomous colleges can develop their own curricula and syllabi and conduct their own examinations. However, even in autonomous colleges, the university awards the degree.
3. The three consultants who prepared the case studies are:
 - a) Dr. Bh. Krishnamurti, former vice chancellor, University of Hyderabad
 - b) Dr. Sharada Nayak, director, Educational Resource Centre, New Delhi
 - c) Dr. Jayalakshmi Indiresan, former senior fellow, National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration, New Delhi
4. In India, institutions managed by non-Hindus are legally known as "minority" institutions. They have several privileges and a degree of autonomy not available to institutions managed by Hindu trusts.
5. The CDI project has since implemented this suggestion with additional funding from the Ford Foundation.

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Governance Arrangements in South African Higher Education

4

This paper consists of two sections. Section I, by Rahmat Omar, provides an overview of the main issues arising from the apartheid legacy in South African higher education, in particular those issues relating to governance arrangements that will be addressed in new policies. It provides a basis for the development of government policy on higher education through the Green Paper and White Paper processes. Section II, by Brian Figaji, provides an examination and analysis of these policy proposals and processes.

SECTION I HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: 1948–1993

Introduction

Section I of this paper offers a brief overview of governance arrangements in the South African higher education system during the period of apartheid rule after 1948. Many of the issues raised here may be seen as the negative consequences of the apartheid system on higher education. Although these elements should be the primary focus of discussion in the immediate post-apartheid period, this emphasis is not meant to imply that South African higher education has no merits or positive features.

The 1994 *White Paper on Education and Training* argues that South Africa has achieved a well-developed and well-resourced higher education system in which certain institutions have developed internationally competitive research and teaching capacities and have produced high quality professional training programs.¹ While most of this capacity is located at Historically White Institutions (HWIs), some Historically Black Institutions (HBIs) or Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs), as they are sometimes called, have developed expertise in a number of academic areas, especially in community outreach, in research into basic community needs, and in dealing with underprepared learners.

Measured by international indicators, such as the proportion of the gross domestic product (GDP) devoted to higher education, student-to-staff ratios, and the physical plant, higher education in South Africa is well resourced. In 1992, for example, public and private expenditure on higher education amounted to 1.7 percent of the country's GDP, the same as the mean average for OECD countries.²

However, the system is fundamentally flawed by inequities, imbalances, and distortions deriving from its history and current structure. Two sets of factors provide the impetus for transformation of higher education in South Africa: first, the profound deficiencies of the present system, which inhibit its ability to meet the moral, social, and economic demands of the new South Africa; and second, a context of unprecedented national and global opportunities and challenges. Together, these factors demand reorientation and innovation.

The Apartheid Legacy

The distortions and deficiencies in South Africa's higher education system are well-known and well-documented.³ Indicators and statistics illustrating these distortions have been provided in the paper prepared for this conference by Professor Nasima Badsha. For the purposes of this paper, the main issues can be summarized as follows:

- The present system perpetuates an inequitable distribution of access and opportunity for students and staff along axes of race, gender, class, and geographic discrimination. Vast disparities exist between historically black and historically white institutions in terms of facilities and capacities for teaching and research.
- There is a chronic mismatch between the outputs of higher education and the needs of a modernizing economy. Not only is South Africa's output in natural science, engineering, and technology low by international standards, but about 80 percent of South Africa's current human resources in these fields are Whites. These distortions have led to a severe shortage of graduates in natural science, engineering, and technology, considered to be the intellectual engine of economic development.⁴
- The strong inclination toward closed-system disciplinary approaches and programs has led to inadequately contextualized teaching and research. Teaching strategies and modes of delivery have not been adapted to meet the needs of larger student intakes and the diversity of lifelong learners.
- There is a lack of regulatory frameworks because of a long history of organizational and administrative fragmentation and weak accountability.
- Higher education institutions have tended to replicate the ethnic, racial, and gender divisions of the wider society.

However, the impetus for the transformation of higher education arises not only from the need to address these distortions and inequalities, but also from the need to respond to new realities and opportunities. These include the challenges listed below:

- Higher education faces dual demands for increased participation driven by demographic and developmental imperatives. Universities will have to recruit greater numbers of students from a broader distribution of social groups and classes. This transition from an "elite" to a "mass" system requires a series of changes that must accompany the increase in numbers and diversity, such as:
 - the diversification of programs, curricula, and qualifications
 - the introduction of multiple entry and exit points
 - new relations between study and the workplace
 - changes in the way that institutions and the system are structured, funded, planned, and governed.
- Reconstruction and developmental policies and practices will have a pronounced impact on higher education. New research agendas and new learning programs will be needed to mobilize the cultural, social, and economic potential of the country and all of its people.

Of crucial importance for higher education is the rapid international development of the "learning society"—a proliferation of knowledge and information in the contemporary world. The production, dissemination, acquisition, and application of knowledge is shaping the structures and dynamics of daily life to an unprecedented degree. The learning society places a premium on lifelong and continuing education; a growing array of public and private organizations (non-specialized learning organizations) share in knowledge production with institutions of higher education.

If the restructuring of the higher education system is to promote quality higher education, and if higher education is to play a pivotal role in South Africa's political, economic, and cultural development, the government must identify, retain, and use the valuable features and achievements of the existing higher education system in the restructuring process. The policy framework put forward in the report of the National Commission on Higher Education is based on a comprehensive analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the South African higher education system, and its policy proposals seek to identify principles and strategies for preserving what is valuable and for transforming what is defective.

Governance Arrangements in Higher Education

After 1948, the model of higher education in South Africa was driven by an ideological vision of apartheid, which was a combination of Afrikaner "affirmative action" and separate development. Starting with the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the government officially divided all education in South Africa along racial and ethnic lines to reinforce the dominance of white rule by excluding Blacks from quality academic education and technical training.

The Extension of University Education Act of 1959, which established racially based universities, applied apartheid ideology to universities. Thus, the University of Fort Hare, which for decades had played a significant role in providing higher education to black people from South Africa and the rest of Africa, was restricted to Xhosa-speaking South Africans. The University Colleges of the North and Zululand were established for Sotho-, Venda-, Tsonga-, and Zulu-speaking African people respectively; and the University of Western Cape and Durban Westville were established for coloreds and Indians, respectively.

In the 1980s, the application of the Bantustans' policy led to the establishment of several universities in the nominally independent homelands, which were intended to service the needs of separate development. Universities that had been established prior to this legislation were also officially restricted according to race. (In practice, most of these universities that had been established under British colonial rule were already differentiated according to race, although there was no formal legislation in place before this act.)

Similarly, after 1978, the growth of technikons (technical colleges and universities) alongside vocational universities and colleges took place within the same apartheid framework that defined the rest of the education system. This led to a situation in which South Africa's higher education institutions (21 universities, 15 technikons, and about 140 single-discipline vocational colleges) were all racially divided and placed under the control of different departments, usually according to racial groupings. These arrangements were the following:

- In the old South Africa, a department of national education was responsible for coordinating the higher education system. Rather than having other education departments or individual higher education institutions reporting to it, this department's main function was to monitor and set financial and academic norms and standards.
- Three departments of education carried separate responsibilities for universities, technikons, and colleges for whites, coloreds and Indians, respectively.

Governance Arrangements in South African Higher Education

- Six departments of education were responsible for some technikons and colleges in the six self-governing territories.
- Four departments of education were responsible for universities and colleges in the nominally independent states of Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda, and Ciskei.

These divisions resulted in a gross fragmentation of the higher education system. The effectiveness and efficiency of the system suffered badly through a lack of coordination, common goals, and systematic planning. System organizers provided no clear strategy or guidelines on the overall shape and size of the system, social and economic needs, overall funds available, growth rates, or elimination of unnecessary duplication.

Furthermore, the authoritarian nature of apartheid rule and the ever-escalating conflict around apartheid polarized the relationship between some higher education institutions and the government, resulting in a sharp state-civil society divide. As opposition to apartheid grew and commitment to its implementation waned, higher education governance became a confused and confusing mixture of policies, ranging from direct state control to ineffectual supervision, minimal accountability, and erratic political interference.

In relation to Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs), for example, legislative control was backed up by central government administrative and executive powers regarding the composition of management, administrative and academic structures, access, student affairs, funding, and in some cases, the appointment of all senior staff members. In contrast, government policy for Historically White Institutions (HWIs) formally upheld autonomy and resulted in a remarkable degree of administrative autonomy among these institutions by the 1980s; there is some debate as to whether this form of governance can be regarded as autonomy or whether it simply reflected the lack of accountability that became a characteristic of the weak state supervision model applied to the HWIs and to the HDIs when they achieved greater formal autonomy.

Another characteristic of governance frameworks was the absence of fully representative structures at the national and institutional level. At the national level the minister consults a statutory "buffer body," the Advisory Council for Universities and Technikons (AUT), and two statutory "interest" bodies, the Committee of University Principals (CUP) and the Committee of Technikon Principals (CTP), on a range of matters; these bodies do not represent stakeholders and underrepresent staff (including faculty) and students.

Democracy and participation have also been severely limited within individual higher education institutions. At some institutions, there is a lack of clarity about the roles and responsibilities of councils and executive management; this has led, at best, to

an uneasy balance of power and sometimes weak institutional leadership, and, at worst, to serious instability resulting, occasionally, in calls for direct government intervention. Representation of staff, in many cases, has been weak, and, in others, has been almost non-existent except in narrowly defined academic matters. Student participation in institutional governance has also been limited or nonexistent.

Issues and Debates

Against this background, it is hardly surprising that academic freedom and institutional autonomy have become central issues in the debates about higher education governance. The first two years of the "new" South Africa have been marked by contradictory demands emerging in a context where no national policy framework for higher education has yet been accepted. Not surprisingly, there have been numerous demands for government intervention to redress past inequalities and to "deal with recalcitrant managements." At the other end of the political continuum, the HWIs have expressed grave concerns about academic freedom. Some universities made submissions to the Constitutional Assembly requesting that they write institutional autonomy into the final Constitution; others have made submissions requesting that the assembly remove the relevant clause in the interim Constitution of 1993 from the final Constitution.

The existence of such competing and contradictory demands among institutions and stakeholders has rendered simplistic characterizations of the "death of the state" or of the relationship between a "bad" state and "good" civil society inappropriate. Recent literature on the theory of governance emphasizes the mutual dependence of state and civil society, so that the state-civil society dichotomy that has been central to traditional discussions on political order tends to become less prominent as a theoretical point of departure.⁵

A summary of the contemporary argument for autonomy runs as follows: The scientific specialization of the university has resulted in a cognitive rationality with rules about verification and falsification and standards of what constitutes legitimate explanations and interpretations. This cognitive rationality is the formal and practical norm of the university, and only collegial, self-governing structures of faculty control can maintain it. Other standards more representative of community, student body, or the state threaten academic life in this sense, and, if other group interests intervene, the delicate mechanism sustaining cognitive rationality can easily break down (*NCHE Report*).

In the African context, the tensions between different positions resulted in what Mamdani has described as "a destructive conflict between expatriates and locals in which both have contributed to the undermining of universities."⁶ According to Mamdani, expatriates called for freedom and autonomy, standards, and centers of excel-

lence, while locals demanded that the state give the universities a national character, ensuring Africanization and development training. Many interpreted the calls for defending autonomy as defending racial privilege, while simultaneously undermining the long-term interests of the university and democracy through calls for government intervention.

Acknowledging the problematic nature of the relationship between higher education institutions and government in Africa, the 1995 Conference of the Association of African Universities supported the approach put forward by the South African Minister of Education. This called for a new relationship, expressed not solely in terms of autonomy, but rather in terms of close collaboration, so that the university becomes an agent of change, fully engaged with the state in fulfilling national objectives.

This model of cooperative governance (see section II), which calls for a new approach to autonomy, academic freedom, and accountability in the South African context, creates the possibility that a course will be steered between long- and short-term considerations, between conviction and practicality, and between advocacy and explanation to a new ground called responsibility.

SECTION II FROM 1994 INTO THE FUTURE

Introduction

The interim Constitution negotiated between the political parties formed the basis for the first democratic elections in 1994 and for the post-election governance structures. The final Constitution was approved and signed by the President in December 1996.

In terms of the interim Constitution, the National Ministry was responsible for higher education, while the provincial government was responsible for secondary schools and further-education colleges, with the national Minister of Education determining the norms and standards for all levels of education.

Apart from all the organizational changes that the government was implementing, it faced the major challenge of bringing about greater equity in higher education. In February 1995, the President issued a proclamation establishing the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) with a brief to propose a new system for higher education that could bring about greater equity, be more responsive to the needs of the country and its people, and be more efficient and effective.

During 1995, the government promulgated the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act. This act provided for a National Qualifications Framework that would facilitate the recognition of learning and provide learners with vertical and

horizontal mobility. The intermediary body for higher education, the Advisory Council for Universities and Technikons, expanded its membership to bring about an improved racial and gender balance as an interim measure, pending NCHE's expected proposals.

NCHE presented its final report to the Minister of Education in August 1996, and since then, the Department of Education has produced the *Green Paper*, which was released on 12 December 1996 for stakeholders' comments by the end of March 1997. The *Green Paper* was the precursor to the legislative process, which took place in 1997, and the government intended to implement the new higher education policies in the 1998 academic year.

The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE)

The NCHE report, *A Framework for Transformation*, proposes a framework for the transformation of higher education around three central features of transformation, namely increased participation, greater responsiveness, and increased cooperation and partnership. The proposals in the report provided a detailed response to these central features, and were grouped under the headings of System, Governance, and Funding. Since it is not possible to discuss every aspect of the report, this paper will deal only with the major policy issues under the report's respective headings. For ease of reference, this discussion of the *Green Paper* will be framed under the same headings.

A Single Coordinated System

The central proposal in this section is that higher education should be planned, governed, and funded as a single coordinated system. A single system would create the opportunity to expand access by improving articulation and rationalization, provide program diversity, and enable the system to be more responsive to the country's social and economic needs. NCHE proposed that all colleges of education, agriculture, and nursing merge with technikons or universities. The nursing and agricultural colleges would first have to be transferred from their respective provincial ministries to the Ministry of Education, and this would require extensive consultation between the respective ministers.

Further proposals provide that each institution produce a three-year rolling plan based on some basic guidelines set by the ministry that include realistic projected budgets, institutionally approved equity targets, and other mutually agreed upon criteria.

To improve the participation rates, the higher education system needs to expand significantly. While some of this expansion can consist of rationalization and resource-based learning, the system must provide new financial resources if it is to achieve this goal. In addition to the cost entailed, the system needs financial resources to build the national and institutional capacity for planning.

However, given the country's existing educational dispensation, a single coordinated system presupposes a particular governance mechanism that will encourage stakeholders to become cooperative partners in a system ensuring a reasonable measure of autonomy. Autonomy is essential to build the trust that will allow cooperation to become a reality on the South African educational landscape.

Cooperative Governance

Models framing the relationship between government and higher education have been characterized by scholars as state control, state interference, and state supervision. These models are defined as follows:

- In the State Control Model, the system is created and almost completely funded by the state, and its key aspects are controlled either by the bureaucracy or politicians. In the one case, professional bureaucrats, produced by the higher education system, manage the system. In the other situation, governments exert both political and bureaucratic control, the primary objective being control rather than efficient management.
- The State Supervision Model allows the government to provide the framework within which institutional administrations are expected to produce the outputs that governments want them to produce through the use of "directives" and "incentives." In this model, the government is an arbiter who watches the rules of the game played by relatively autonomous players and who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results.
- The State Interference Model understands that institutions are autonomous; however, when they become sites of opposition to the state's development path, interference with the proclaimed autonomy occurs. This situation occurs primarily where civil society and the bureaucracy are weak, and no conflict resolution or negotiation mechanisms exist. In the long term, this model leads to an unstable system.

None of these models exists in a pure form; policy tends to shift from the features of one model to another. However, given the South African higher education tradition, the arguments for autonomy are fairly dominant.

The NCHE Report proposed a South African version of the state supervision model called Cooperative Governance. Within a restructured democratic state, Cooperative

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Governance entails autonomous constituencies of civil society working cooperatively with an assertive government. Cooperative Governance mechanisms encourage an active role for associations and different agencies. They also promote interaction and coordination through a range of partnerships.

Fundamental to the Cooperative Governance Model are three equally important elements:

- A branch of higher education within the Department of Education with high-level staff skilled at educational analysis, management, implementation, and policy formulation.
- A Higher Education Forum, representative of organized constituencies (stakeholders) of higher education, who will advise the minister.
- A Higher Education Council that will be an expert body overseeing a rolling plan of implementation and acting as a buffer between institutions and the government.

These three elements are a response to the need for a well-organized ministry that can effectively supervise higher education, a stakeholder group where the sense of participation and partnership could be developed, and an expert body that the higher education community trusts to ameliorate any apparent loss of autonomy. These elements are essential if the interests of all the constituencies are to be taken into account. In fact, the "new" managers in many government departments have set out to strengthen the participation of civil society in a domain traditionally regarded as the government's. Moreover, managers can best cultivate a sense of shared responsibility when there is meaningful participation, mutual trust, and an absence of overt central control.

NCHE's proposals reaffirm the individual's right to academic freedom and locate the autonomy of institutions within the concept of the Cooperative Governance Model. The proposals suggest that initial negotiations and consultation with institutions are absolutely necessary to ensure that the intended system does not slip into a State Interference Model.

The remainder of the proposals in this section deal with regional cooperation and the democratization of institutional governance structures. At the institutional level, it is proposed that a forum be established that could represent all stakeholders. This forum (referred to as the "institutional forum" in the NCHE document and the "transformation forum" in the *Green Paper*) is responsible for helping institutions toward greater democ-

racy. In this way, students and staff will have a greater voice in institutional affairs and a more direct influence in affairs that directly affect them.

The reason why NCHE encourages rather than mandates regional cooperation is that mandating it would affect institutional autonomy, and it is a matter best dealt with by negotiation between institutions and the ministry. A single coordinated system would reduce institutions' current levels of autonomy. The Cooperative Governance Model attempts to restore some of this loss by making institutions equally responsible for system-wide issues and placing the principle of negotiations at the center of all policy changes.

Goal-Oriented Funding

The funding framework is consistent with the basic principles of equity, redress, development, democracy, efficiency, effectiveness, financial sustainability, and shared costs.

Institutional funding will have four broad components:

1. Formula funding—funding based on student numbers, levels, and fields of study.
2. Earmarked institutional redress—grants made to HDIs to correct past imbalances.
3. Earmarked individual redress—National Student Loan Scheme aimed at helping the poor.
4. Other earmarked funds—funds for special purposes, such as promoting research or creating incentives.

Central to the new funding mechanism is the careful implementation of the three-year rolling plan and the Higher Education Council's key role as the body involved in negotiating with institutions to ensure that state funding directs the system toward its national goals, thus giving meaning to the cooperative governance model. Quite clearly, the funding policies and their implementation will indicate the degree to which universities are implementing the Cooperative Governance Model.

Response from the State (Green Paper)

In large measure, the state appears to have accepted most of NCHE's proposals. The *Green Paper* is, unfortunately, a litany of responses to the NCHE proposals rather than

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a presentation of the state's view of a transformed higher education sector merely framed by the NCHE Report. Elements within the *Green Paper* demonstrate a lack of a clear understanding of the NCHE document and a degree of naiveté about how long it takes to build institutional human capacity.

A Single Coordinated System

In general, the state supports the need for a coherent national system that will ensure diversity by facilitating the development of a range of institutional and program offerings, articulated through a single qualifications framework. The *Green Paper* suggests that higher education cater to more mature students who are seeking to update and diversify their skills. The paper also suggests that higher education provide places for adults previously denied access. The minister intends to undertake a more detailed study of the demographic and labor market analyses to determine the size and shape of the higher education sector.

The *Green Paper* recognizes the challenge of achieving increased participation rates without sacrificing quality, but hints at passing a large part of the increased cost on to students and institutions, while making a strong case for the increase in state spending on higher education. The ministry is firmly of the view that the development of quality programs and centers of excellence in niche fields are the building blocks for the transformation and reconstruction of HBLs. The ministry believes that colleges of education, agriculture, and nursing should examine the matter more carefully and consult with the respective ministers to reach a decision about those colleges currently outside of the education portfolio. With respect to the colleges of education, the minister needs to first consider the complexities of the situation. In essence, there is no real agreement with the NCHE proposals on this matter.

Cooperative Governance

The *Green Paper* supports NCHE's argument for a system that will get the various stakeholders working together toward a common purpose, while recognizing their different expectations and interests in higher education. NCHE suggested establishing a Higher Education Forum (HEF), a Higher Education Council (HEC), and a branch of higher education within the Department of Education. These three structures, with the minister responsible for overall policy, would satisfy the stakeholder needs (HEF), the role of an intermediary or "buffer" body of experts (HEC), and a professional group of departmental officials (Branch for Higher Education) who will ensure that all the parts are working together. This is NCHE's interpretation of the Cooperative Governance Model.

The *Green Paper* accepts cooperative governance as the preferred model, but asserts that the "government should exercise its authority and its powers over higher education in a transparent, equitable, and accountable manner in pursuit of the public good." The authors then go on to propose a State Control Model because the NCHE model "constrains the powers of the Minister and the department." The model proposed in the *Green Paper* puts forward only one statutory body to represent both stakeholder interests and expertise in higher education policy and management. This body, which would be known as the Council on Higher Education (CHE), would advise the minister on higher education matters.

This approach clearly demonstrates a total lack of understanding of the elements in the Cooperative Governance Model and of how it emphasizes the sharing of responsibility between the institutions, the statutory bodies, and the state. Most importantly, it demonstrates the extent to which the funding and systems section of the NCHE report is based on this model. This means that relatively autonomous institutions would have their autonomy curtailed, and additional authority would be shifted to the Department of Education. Such authority would increase the Department of Education's power, and, since the CHE is merely an advisory body, would enhance the minister's powers.

The *Green Paper's* system is, in effect, less than or the same as South Africa's system prior to 1994. It appears that the debate about transformation has shifted to a debate about power. Given the cooperative spirit prevailing in the country at the moment and the many models of cooperative governance existing in other departments, this dramatic deviation can only be ascribed to ill-informed foreign advisors or a sense of departmental insecurity.

The *Green Paper* assures that the division of responsibilities between CHE and the Department of Education will protect higher education institutions against the department's intrusion on the institutional autonomy. What the paper fails to reveal is exactly how this will be done, if the CHE is only an advisory body. In fact, this would be the most important question the government could answer to the satisfaction of the institutions if a trust relationship is to evolve between the institutions and the state. Clearly, the governance issue is central to the NCHE proposals, and the minister's rejection on this issue has far wider ramifications than the *Green Paper* presents.

The remainder of this section deals with institutional governance; the *Green Paper* accepts these proposals based on the Cooperative Governance Model. Its acceptance tends to confirm the suspicion that rejecting the Cooperative Governance Model at a national level is based on the notion of power and control, rather than of shared responsibility.

Goal-Oriented Funding

The *Green Paper* supports the NCHE proposal and undertakes to ensure that the state funding framework is characterized by an appropriate balance between institutional autonomy and public accountability, as well as procedures intended to be simple, transparent, flexible, and fair.

The minister very clearly commits himself to finding additional revenue for higher education in general, and to providing the HDIs with some redress funding immediately. In fact, the commitment to institutional redress funding started in 1997 by using the dedicated capital works allocation of R150 million as an initial redress fund.

It is important to note that the *Green Paper* supports the NCHE proposals regarding targeted predetermined subsidized student enrollments. This means that negotiations should result in the determination of the number of student places the state could fund in any given year; these places would be apportioned among the institutions. Institutions would be able to admit students beyond the agreed number of subsidized student places, but the state would not fund them. This is a bold but unavoidable decision by the minister, given the political conflicts over access to higher education.

A somewhat confusing aspect of the government response in the *Green Paper* is the acceptance that preparatory, remedial, and bridging programs should be included in the funding of student places, but academic development aimed at students from inadequate backgrounds should not be funded from the student place subsidy, but rather from the earmarked funding. The difference in definition between preparatory, remedial, or bridging and academic development will surely create a protracted debate. The more interesting detail will be how to determine the funding for these categories.

One of the first tasks the government assigned to the new CHE was to propose a new funding formula; this would be CHE's real test, and it may be impossible, since CHE is not equipped to handle such a technical matter. For many seasoned higher education professionals, this type of task is too specialized. In the absence of an expert body that could ensure independence and objectivity, the details of a new funding formula would probably be prepared by departmental officials and presented to CHE for comment and advice. It would be a good example of state control.

Conclusion

The NCHE report was released in September 1996, the *Green Paper* was released on 12 December 1996, and the institutions were informed of their provisional budget allocations for 1997 on 11 December 1996. This coincidence causes one to seek connections among the three events. It is unfortunate that the level of secrecy associated with the state budgeting process continued to exist beyond 1994. The Department of

Education seemed constrained by this secrecy. However, if this is to be the pattern of future events, then the notion of any form of forward planning is merely a theoretical exercise. The planning done by institutions for 1997 was nullified by the provisional budget allocations, for they showed a marked reduction in funding over the 1996 allocations. The ministry's announcement that consultation would be their preferred strategy, along with the fact that these allocations happened without any form of consultation shortly before the holidays, are indications that the model presented by the state will be a State Control Model of the worst kind. If this is what is to come, then education will continue to be at the center of conflict and turmoil. Institutions and parents cannot be expected to plan well in advance, only to have their plans ruined by an unannounced, significant reduction in state funding that causes increases in tuition and other student costs.

If South Africa is going to become a globally advanced nation, then it must be prepared to invest in education, and the ministry must advocate more strongly for additional resources from the central government. At the same time, mechanisms that lead to cooperation rather than the entrenching of existing adversarial relationships must be found. The government and higher education institutions will have to make compromises for the good of the country by agreeing on an acceptable model for the governance of higher education in South Africa. The future stability of higher education is now in the hands of those who will influence the content of the *White Paper* and those who will be charged with the implementation of the final policies.

ENDNOTES

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Faculty Development & Democratic Spaces of Possibility: Building Communities of Knowledge, Inclusion, & Commitment

5

The conditions of truth and the conditions of democracy are one and the same: as there is freedom, as the community is open and inclusive and the exchange of ideas thorough and spirited, so there is both more democracy and more learning, more freedom and more knowledge (which becomes, here, ideas conditionally agreed upon)... Learning communities, like all free communities, function only when their members conceive of themselves as empowered to participate fully in the common activities that define the community—in this case, learning and the pursuit of knowledge in the name of common living.

BENJAMIN BARBER, *EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY*

INTRODUCTION

Borderlands are physically present whenever two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy.

GLORIA ANZALDÚA, *BORDERLANDS LA FRONTERA*

A university in Texas near the border of Mexico has a faculty that is 90 percent White, but its student body has changed dramatically in the last decade and now has a majority of Mexican-American students. The faculty feels less secure teaching the old way or the old content.

A Catholic institution in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, decides to admit women, breaking with a 100-year-old tradition. There are only nine women on the faculty and a projected student body that will reach nearly 45 percent female within five years. The president calls a group together to prepare for the change.

A small residential women's college in a rural area now relies on its adult-education classes attended by commuter students on different satellite campuses for 75 percent of its income. They are seeking an academic dean who can lead the college in its redefined mission.

An elite private research institution has sought to diversify its students economically as well as by race and gender, but tensions exist in the dormitories and classrooms.

The vice president for student affairs and the vice president for academic affairs meet to discuss the issues.

The chair of an English department is concerned because the restrictions on hiring new faculty mean his youngest faculty member is 37 years old and 70 percent of the remaining faculty have taught at the institution for 25 years or more.

The dean of arts and sciences is concerned because the rate of women dropping out of science majors far exceeds that of men.

Chicano students have taken over the administration building in a California university and have gone on a hunger strike to demand that the school establish a Chicano Studies Department.

A group of Asian-American students at an Ivy League university are protesting the lack of an Asian-American Studies program.

The chair of the religion department at a liberal arts institution is concerned because none of his faculty has training in world religions, the area that is altering the contours of the discipline. Moreover, the students at his institution include a high proportion of international students and new immigrants, most of whom come from Asia and the Middle East.

All of these examples come directly from real institutions in the United States. They represent challenges that higher education is facing because of a changing student body, expanding fields of scholarship, and an increasingly interdependent world. These are the challenges of diversity. At the center of the whirlwind sits the faculty, the intellectual heart of the academy and the interface between students and the knowledge traditions to which students are exposed. If the faculty do not change, the curriculum does not change.

Professors cannot teach what they do not know. What must faculty, who are already fully credentialed in their disciplines, learn before they can teach about diversity? And how can they be enticed to invest in this new knowledge? What must faculty know about teaching a diverse group of students? What responsibility does higher education have for teaching students to shape communities of the future? And how must faculty members reconceive their roles if the academy is to assume a societal obligation to promote the creation and continuance of a robust, diverse democracy?

One of the most hopeful signs that higher education is seriously grappling with such challenges is the pervasiveness of faculty development as a critical tool for addressing many of the questions outlined above. Whenever faculty members gather, it is evident that many of them yearn for such opportunities. One faculty member who attended an AAC&U two-week intensive summer institute on U.S. diversity and democracy wrote in an evaluation, "My participation in the institute has armed me with a much

clearer view of what multiculturalism is in America, and how it developed and plays its role in our society. I am better equipped with a lot of resources and skills that I was not aware of before I came here." A colleague at the same institute explained, "This has been a very valuable experience. With the information and insights that I have, I feel much more comfortable and competent to go back to my campus and get the job done. I also was somewhat doubtful that the job could be done before I came here. Now I have hope!" Finally, an academic dean confessed, "What I have learned at the institute has really destroyed my career! I can't do anything the same way again—and I'm glad!"

FACULTY DEVELOPMENT IN THE U.S. CONTEXT

When those who have the power to name and to socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you, whether you are dark-skinned, old, disabled, female, or speak with a different accent or dialect than theirs, when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing.

ADRIENNE RICH, *THE FEMINIST CLASSROOM*

In order to understand the role of faculty development in diversity initiatives in the United States, it is important to know something about the power faculty members have in higher education institutions. It is also helpful to know something about the history of faculty development in this last quarter of the twentieth century in the United States, as well as about the role of women's studies, ethnic studies, and global studies in defining contemporary models for faculty development. Lastly, it is important to realize the difference it makes when the focus of a faculty development initiative is diversity rather than, for instance, writing across the curriculum or using technology in the classroom.

The Power Assigned to Faculty at U.S. Colleges and Universities

Since diversity education takes place in academic curricula, understanding the role of faculty in planning curricula as well as in designing courses of study serves as a background to the importance of faculty development programs. Faculty in American colleges and universities have responsibility for the curriculum. Trained in specific and traditional disciplines, faculty are less acquainted with recently developed areas of study, interdisciplinary studies, and the pedagogies that have become integral to them.

In the United States, there are approximately 3,500 two- and four-year accredited private and public colleges and universities that educate some fourteen million students

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every year. Some of these institutions place a greater emphasis on faculty research, others on teaching. But whatever the institution, faculty members as a group have almost exclusive control over the curriculum, and individual faculty members have great latitude in determining the content of a given course.

Most campuses have curriculum committees at the departmental level that shape the curriculum of their department or program. Curriculum committees at the college-wide level are responsible for making policy about and overseeing the overall curriculum. On larger campuses, there might be a separate curriculum committee for each of the various schools or colleges within the university. At the college-wide level, these committees are typically dominated by faculty but sometimes chaired by the provost or academic dean or vice president. Students are less likely to sit on a college curriculum committee. At the departmental level, the committee is typically all faculty members, with some departments including students in the process.

Most of the curriculum is set at the departmental level, where a group of faculty members agree on a basic set of courses and assign them to specific faculty members who must conform to a general description of the course, but nonetheless have great freedom to design the readings, assignments, and thrust of the course. In the United States, a strong tradition of academic freedom was originally adopted to protect a faculty member from censorship by superiors and outsiders, especially when teaching politically sensitive material. Today, faculty members, regardless of what they teach, regard their classrooms as private space in which they are largely autonomous. Faculty autonomy is a powerful part of academic culture and is, paradoxically, both a pathway and a barrier to institutional change.

If a department decides to alter its requirements or offer new courses, it typically must follow a specified procedure for bringing new courses to a larger college-wide curriculum committee. If the committee approves a course, it rarely dictates what books must be taught. However, most departments also have mechanisms with enough flexibility to allow them to slide new courses into the department without going to the larger, more cumbersome college curriculum committee. Departments might have, for example, an approved senior seminar whose topic, teachers, and reading list vary each time it is taught. Or they might have a course designated as "Special Topics" or an "Issues Seminar," designations with topics that can change by departmental agreement.

Sometimes when there is an overall curriculum change that might affect what a student must take to receive a degree, there is a broad discussion among the faculty as a whole, a variety of plans submitted to solicit faculty comment, and then a college-wide vote before the newly designed curriculum can be implemented. At that point, a department might have to abide by college-wide decisions that the department did not necessarily approve, but in most cases the changes sketch out general rather than specific courses.

It is noteworthy that virtually all the courses taught in U.S. colleges and universities in the United States carry academic credit. Since attaching credit to a course is generally a faculty prerogative, this circumstance contributes to the substantial control of the curriculum exercised by the faculty.

Institutions typically establish standard course loads for faculty members, although the standard varies not only between institutions, but also within them. Despite the variation in course load, faculty members normally expect to receive additional compensation for teaching an "overload." This is another feature of the academic landscape that reinforces faculty autonomy and curricular control.

Most U.S. colleges and universities have set aside a certain number of courses called "General Education," that part of the curriculum designed to give students a broad base of knowledge and wide-ranging critical skills. Most general education courses are lodged in humanities and social sciences, and a smaller percentage in the sciences, but few are lodged in professional schools or applied departments. General education typically consumes one-quarter to one-third of the courses a student takes in a baccalaureate degree program. While it is still the usual pattern for students to take most of their general education courses in the first and second years of college, a new vertical model that spreads general education courses through all four years is gaining broader acceptance. Sometimes such programs culminate in an interdisciplinary seminar taken in the senior year.

For a variety of reasons, general education has become the locus of efforts to include new diversity courses in the curriculum. In the first place, students are generally required to take courses in general education. Secondly, national debates about the purposes, content, and form of general education have made it a fertile ground for change and innovation.

Faculty Development at the End of the Twentieth Century in the United States

Although there had been a modicum of commitment to the professional development of faculty members in the early part of the twentieth century, until the 1970s it typically took the form of faculty research grants, support to attend and present papers at professional scholarly meetings, and research sabbaticals. Several influences in the seventies, however, led to the coinage of the term, "faculty development," redefining its purposes and the kind of institutional supports faculty members would come to take for granted by the end of the century.

After a period of enormous expansion in higher education following World War II, a recession and a demographic drop in the number of traditional eighteen to twenty-two-year-olds led to an abrupt change in expectations. Many smaller private colleges

closed. Others worried they would have to let faculty members, even tenured ones, go. Faculty senate committees drafted plans that would guide institutions through retrenchment decisions. Academic administrators worried that they could no longer rely on hiring new faculty members to infuse the latest scholarship and new ideas into the institution. Younger faculty members worried that they would not have the usual option of moving into different, more prestigious institutions as they matured in their profession.

In 1974, a group of distinguished higher education leaders published an influential booklet, *Faculty Development in a Time of Retrenchment*. It warned that "professional stagnation among American faculty is in danger of replacing faculty mobility" (Group for Human Development in Higher Education, 13). But the authors held out hope that "diminished faculty mobility may provide opportunities for in-place enhancing of professional competencies. Multiple professional identifications, rather than identification only with one's own discipline, is a break with academic traditions that would provide networks of interests and intellectual interaction" (67). They also suggested that teaching, which they described as the "stepchild in the hierarchy of academic goals and values," might appropriately assume a more prominent place in the academy (27).

A strong social influence at the time was the emergence of new scholarly fields, especially those that grew out of the social movements of the 1960s and the 1970s. The movement that opposed the Vietnam War, largely fueled by college students, led to demands that students be taught relevant information that would help them understand power relationships, foreign policy, and a more complete view of history. "Teach-ins" became a hallmark of the times, as students organized campus forums to expand their knowledge about issues and ideas not yet incorporated into traditional classes.

The civil rights movement of the 1960s opened access to students of color, especially African Americans who had been barred from most institutions in the South by law and from most predominantly White academic institutions elsewhere by custom. Many of the new Black students arrived on campus with social-change skills honed through the civil rights movement and Black Power movement, and they began to demand courses about African-American history and culture, the hiring of Black faculty members, and changes in campus life that would meet their needs. The women's movement, inspired by both the civil rights and Black Power initiatives, emerged as a third important social movement. As the number of women attending college rose toward the majority it reached in the mid-1980s, White women and women of color began to press for new courses on women, more women faculty members, and a campus climate in which women could flourish.

Faculty development, a concept born from fears of stagnation and economic constraint, gradually came to be seen by quite different constituencies as a source of individ-

ual and institutional renewal. The fact that people turned to faculty development through such different pathways and with such varied motivations has been a delicate dance ever since. The degree to which those committed to faculty development out of a commitment to diversity can remain partners with those committed for other reasons will affect the level of how powerful faculty development can become as a tool for institutional improvement. For the past two decades, the liaison has been mutually beneficial to everyone. One of the key insights in diversity work is how engagement is deepened when colleagues can be persuaded that a commitment to diversity will allow the institution to achieve excellence in its overall mission. Strategic gains are made when it can be demonstrated that diversity work is integral to the central purposes of the academy.

That is exactly what happened as faculty development became institutionalized. In the 1970s, faculty development experiments were supported largely by external funds from private foundations and public agencies. Typically, a faculty development office was established and staffed by highly respected faculty members; there was a new emphasis, linking professional development to teaching (Gaff and Simpson, 168). As they overcame the faculty's resistance to the notion that its members might need "development," these campus efforts proved a source of faculty renewal. By the 1980s, some of the offices had turned into teaching and learning centers, most were supported by line-items in college budgets, and instructional development was a routine responsibility of most chief academic officers. Faculty development, then, "moved slowly from a fragmented, often misunderstood, and peripheral position to an integrated, better understood, and more centrally located position of importance within the institution" (173).

The Influence of Ethnic Studies and Women's Studies on Faculty Development

People who were professionally and personally committed to diversity—such as ethnic studies faculty members and administrators of color, women's studies faculty members and women administrators, and faculty members and administrators interested in global studies—all contributed to the institutionalization of faculty development as a source of renewal. In the early years, most of the faculty members, including White women and men and women of color, had themselves not undergone graduate training in the new scholarship in women's studies and ethnic studies. As a result, they eagerly sought any opportunity to increase their own knowledge. They attended national and regional conferences, institutes and workshops, and used newly designated faculty development funds to pursue the study of new scholarship.

In the 1980s in particular, women's studies took the lead nationally in strategically investing in faculty development efforts to reach faculty members who taught traditional courses and were not likely ever to teach a women's studies course. In 1980, a three-year

national project began at Wheaton College (MA) that initiated a decade of intense efforts to integrate the new scholarship on women into the curriculum as a whole. Integration was not meant to replace women's studies programs, but to enhance their influence. It sought to educate colleagues about how the new scholarship on women and gender influenced every discipline. Since then, hundreds of similar faculty development programs have been launched, supported both through external and internal funding.

What women's studies did, ethnic studies did as well. More recently such initiatives have been imitated by those seeking to integrate new knowledge about world studies into the curriculum. What began, however, as parallel and often unconnected campus efforts, with little cooperation among the three, has increasingly become more unified. A Ford Foundation grant, "Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies," is an example of coordination of purpose and planning. The project ran from 1988-1992, supported faculty development efforts at thirteen academic institutions, and produced one of the most valuable source books for diversity work, *Women of Color and the Multicultural Curriculum: Transforming the College Classroom*, by Liza Fiol-Matta and Mariam K. Chamberlain. When a faculty development seminar is focused on gender, it can now be more safely predicted that issues of race, class, ethnicity, and sexuality will be addressed. When a seminar is focused on race, it can likewise more safely be predicted that issues of gender, class, and ethnicity will be addressed.

Because both ethnic studies and women's studies also defined teaching as integral to their new disciplines, they supported the link between faculty development and teaching. In ethnic and women's studies, pedagogical issues were discussed almost as much as content. Student-centered classrooms became normative, along with greater student participation, a focus on leadership, and a wider range of assignments. Faculty members carefully attended to classroom dynamics; who spoke, who had authority, and how a professor's own race and gender might influence student learning were common discussions. Assignments that were dependent on group work became commonplace, as did the development of opportunities for students to venture beyond the boundaries of the academic institution and test theoretical understandings on immediate social problems in community settings. These approaches now carry such respectable labels as "collaborative learning," "service learning," and "community-based learning." It is not surprising that some of the directors of teaching and learning centers that are current sites of faculty development activities come out of women's studies and ethnic studies. Neither is it surprising that when there is a faculty development activity focused on how to improve teaching, professors teaching diversity courses sign up in disproportionately high numbers.

Predictions for future faculty development directions in the United States suggest that diversity leaders will continue to have a strong influence on faculty development

and continue to find its emphases congenial to their commitments. Gaff and Simpson assert that the 1990s will continue to witness calls for a rethinking of traditional conceptions of faculty roles, and "an expanded definition of scholarship to include not just original research in a discipline, but also research into the teaching and learning of the subject, integrative scholarship that connects the field with other bodies of knowledge, and application of knowledge to solve social problems" (172-173). Faculty development in the United States, then, has not simply been good for diversity efforts, but faculty members and administrators committed to diversity have also been good for faculty development. Diversity efforts have underscored their focus on interdisciplinary work, concern that teaching be valued as a central mission of the academy, desire to incorporate new knowledge about race, class, gender, and difference into the curriculum, and increasing attention on how to help students apply their knowledge for the larger social welfare.

The Difference Diversity Makes in Faculty Development

"Learning about women's studies is not like learning algebra," a student said at a session of the National Women's Studies Association's national conference in 1989. What is true for the student in a women's studies classroom is true for faculty members in faculty development activities. Learning about diversity is not like learning about writing across the curriculum or how to use new technologies in the classroom, both of which have been popular faculty development foci in the last decade. Ellen Friedman (1996), one of the authors of *Creating an Inclusive College Curriculum*, explains, "Transforming the curriculum . . . involves more than subtracting some books and adding others . . . [It] is serious business. It attacks received wisdom, wrenches internalized values, and contests assumptions held so deeply that to challenge them feels as if one is fighting nature" (Friedman, 1-2). Bonnie Spanier (in Friedman 1996) refers to the process as "the discomfort generated by shaking foundations" (xviii). Karen Rowe (1994) at UCLA concurs: "Curriculum integration is neither an easy nor a comfortable process because it calls into question many of the fundamental assumptions of traditional academic methods, values, and hierarchies," and the success of faculty development efforts are directly linked to how astutely such activities "force reconceptualizations of how we think about difference, and how we question differently, and how we teach within ethnicity and gender" (Rowe, '36).

In diversity-centered faculty development initiatives, many issues surface that do not appear in most other topical areas. Some faculty members feel uncomfortable with the value-centered work of diversity that seems to violate academic rules of neutrality. Diversity often raises ethical issues and questions of social justice. It typically invites faculty members to investigate their own personal experiences as one source of knowledge, thereby putting feelings on the table as a valuable way of knowing and a source

for expanded understanding. Constantly pushing against the constraints of a single disciplinary perspective, it almost always leads to interdisciplinary work. The study of diversity relies on sources of knowledge often not included in traditional academic study. It carries faculty members into emotionally volatile areas, an unsettling situation to many professors unaware of ways to teach highly contested and emotionally charged issues.

DESIGNING SUCCESSFUL FACULTY DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

Democracy... is a community always in the making... forever incomplete... founded in possibilities. Even in the small, the local places in which teaching is done, educators may begin creating the kinds of situations where, at the very least, students will begin telling the stories of what they are seeking, what they know and might not yet know, exchanging stories with others grounded in other landscapes, at once bringing something into being that is in-between... It is at moments like these that persons begin to recognize each other and, in the experience of recognition, feel the need to take responsibility for each other.

MAXINE GREENE

DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION: TOWARD A CURRICULUM FOR HUMAN BEINGS

Principles to Build into Future Faculty Development Efforts

Because there is a growing consensus in the literature about faculty development and diversity that can be useful in future designs, this second section of the paper will try to capture some of the major insights of cumulative experience in the U.S. Some of these insights pertain to faculty development in general; others are particular to faculty development focused on diversity.

1. *To attract colleagues to faculty development work in diversity, the effective appeal is primarily to the values of academic culture and to the central commitment of faculty members as professionals: the advancement of knowledge, the improvement of teaching, and the enhancement of student learning.* It is more important to emphasize intellectual rather than political or moral values. The point to be made is that studying diversity leads to better science, history, psychology, and that diversity helps faculty members reach their students more effectively, deepening student learning. To suggest that faculty members need sensitivity training has failed as a rationale. Appeals to larger social justice and moral commitments have worked for only a small percentage of faculty members. Arguing that faculty members are racist, sexist, homophobic, and otherwise morally culpable—and therefore in need of remediation—has alienated almost everyone.

2. *To change what they learn and, therefore, what they can teach, faculty members need three things: time, focused study, and dialogue with their peers.* The most effective faculty development initiatives have engaged people in reading, thinking, and debating over time in a sustained group that develops collegial and personal relationships with one another.

TIME: To find time, faculty members must be relieved of competing distractions.

Sometimes that means release time from a course in order to concentrate on a faculty development seminar. It might mean setting aside time for faculty study and dialogue in the summer, between sessions, or on a weekly or monthly basis during the academic year. Administrative support is critical to providing such time and to underscoring that learning about diversity is an institutional and educational priority.

FOCUSED STUDY: Learning about diversity is hard work. The scholarship has been produced by some of the best scholars in academe wrestling with profoundly complex issues. It demands integrative thinking, interdisciplinary facility, and a willingness to grapple with theory as well as practice. It is not charity work done to placate a special interest group, neither is it a salve to conscience. The study of diversity is part of the new intellectual terrain of academic disciplines and of contemporary life. It is rigorous intellectual work that causes most faculty members to rethink their discipline's methodology, content, and deep-seated operating assumptions. To accomplish this work requires approaching it with the same intellectual respect and integrity as with any academic responsibilities.

DIALOGUE WITH PEERS: Although individual study can certainly deepen knowledge about subject matter, it is less successful in deepening knowledge about how to negotiate differing perspectives on the same subject. Working in solitude could inoculate faculty members against finding ways of mediating emotionally charged differences, as students must do every day. Faculty members themselves routinely attest to the value of coming together to discuss what they have read and how they feel about it. By working within a sustained group over time, participants achieve a level of trust that allows them to explore deeper issues with greater sensitivity and, in the process, to grapple with the potential conflicts and "ah-ha" moments that might otherwise escape them. After leading a faculty development seminar at George Washington University on women of color, Phyllis Palmer (1994) insists that the process for faculty study is as

important as the content, especially with diversity work. "Webs of affection allowed faculty members to disagree with one another," she explains, "take pleasure, and feel annoyance without fearing the break-up of the group" (52).

3. *To establish faculty development as part of a larger institutional commitment to diversity is vitally important.* Such institutional support gives credibility to the effort, extends the length of time invested, legitimizes a claim to institutional resources, and protects the more vulnerable faculty members who participate.

The Association of American Colleges and Universities, as part of the application process in its American Commitments projects, requires that schools provide evidence of a broad institutional commitment to diversity. The Ford Foundation did the same when awarding diversity grants. Such procedures prevent faculty development on diversity from being perceived as a "special project" or a one-time investment. In designing the "Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies" project at the University of California at Los Angeles, Karen Rowe (1994) solicited advice from departmental chairs and vice chairs of undergraduate studies to help identify participants, supply resources like release time and compensation, and assure beforehand that participants selected would not cause undue disruption of regular departmental responsibilities. Key administrators were brought into the process early, felt involved, and ultimately contributed to its overall success. In the hidden issue of unduly exploiting new faculty members who are often eager to join in such activities and frequently possess expertise in the new scholarship, such preliminary work can, Rowe insists, help minimize any detrimental impact on the professional advancement of junior faculty. On the contrary, she claims that, rather than suffering professionally from their involvement in the seminars, untenured junior faculty actually enhance their advancement (27).

4. *To think through who should lead, about the mix of participants, and about the strategic value each might have is important in designing faculty development activities, especially ones that involve an ongoing seminar experience.* Are there varying levels of expertise? Is there a mix of disciplines? Are participants strategically located to make a significant impact? Are there both senior and junior faculty? Is there diversity of race, gender, and other identity factors that are meaningful on a given campus. Has assigning a single representative of an identity group been avoided wherever possible? Have the participants chosen to be part of the seminar? Do the seminar leader or leaders command respect on the campus at large?

5. *To engage professors where they are is always important with faculty members, as it is with students.* Because levels of understanding and expertise vary greatly, it is imperative to exercise patience in interactions and make space for what might seem naive questions. In

the range of faculty development initiatives, it is helpful to have multiple entry points for faculty members to engage with the intellectual and social questions raised by diversity. Some faculty with little knowledge of the topic may benefit from a more broad-based introductory workshop, while those with more expertise may be willing to commit to a more intensive seminar. Some may respond more positively, initially, to discipline-focused study and workshops, others to focusing on pedagogical issues (Musil et al., 1995, 55).

6. *To specify some measurable outcome for faculty study is important.* Expected outcomes might be a revised syllabus, a new course, a published article, or a presentation to one's department, the college as a whole, or students in the residence halls. An outcome might involve presentations at national conferences or talks to prospective students or alumni. Or, it might well involve all of the above. But participants should be clear about what they are to produce, and someone in a leadership position should hold them accountable and monitor their progress.

7. *Finally, although it need not be much, some kind of compensation should be given to faculty members who participate in more extensive faculty development initiatives.* Such recognition could be a stipend, a course reduction, lunches, books, a photocopying budget for materials, or travel money to attend special conferences.

Conceptual Frameworks for Faculty Development in Diversity

At this juncture in the history of diversity work in the United States, some emerging conceptual understandings about diversity, when attended to, have enhanced faculty development initiatives. Among these are the following:

- Diversity and excellence are not oppositional but integral. Only when multiple perspectives are gleaned from multiple voices can fuller, more accurate knowledge be produced.
- Diversity recognizes individuals' participation in an array of communities of attachment and affiliation; to be attached to a particular community is not necessarily to be withdrawn from a larger community.
- Communities that look homogeneous to outsiders are richly and sometimes unsettlingly diverse.
- Instead of organizing one's analysis through a single difference or undifferentiated category (by race alone, or gender alone, for instance), diversity work is increasingly analyzed through multiple and simultaneous differences that

intersect in complicated ways (a devout Christian woman who is a lesbian African American, for instance)

- Wrestling with what to do in the face of unassimilable and uncongenial differences is the task, rather than simply celebrating and affirming difference.
- Seeing difference not merely as a collection of equal differences but as asymmetry in differences and looking at the ways in which differences are rooted in power relationships and repeated patterns of inequality are critical.

Diversity is not simply a process of studying the "other," but of studying "the many" in relation to one another. Using a thematic and comparative model rather than studying discrete identity groups provides a flexible conceptual framework that diminishes stereotyping, elucidates differences and similarities, and demands attentiveness to the complexities of intersecting differences. Studying diversity introduces competing versions of the truth and at best engages the difficult work of hammering out new understandings and new constructions of knowledge.

The Power of Faculty Development

A team that evaluated the initial grantees in the Ford Foundation Campus Diversity Initiative in the United States concluded, "The investment in faculty development almost always proved good on its return—and then some . . . engaging a faculty member in new scholarship and pedagogy changed more than a single course; it potentially altered all the courses that faculty might teach" (Musil, et al., 26-27). Faculty development is the primary way to make lasting curricular change. Typically, the intellectual stimulation from the experience is the first thing mentioned when faculty members are asked to evaluate their involvement. The surprise for Karen Rowe at UCLA (1994) was how her diversity project revealed the "extensive hunger among faculty for new materials" (34). Most participants want to—and do—figure out ways to continue the discussion beyond the formal boundaries of their seminar. The clear connection between faculty development and intellectual renewal is unmistakable.

The second thing participants usually comment on is a new collegial community established through diversity work. Peer support networks develop when participants appear as guest lecturers in one another's courses, collaborate on research articles, team teach, and join in expanded alliances for greater institutional reform.

Some unexpected surprises emerged: how faculty development activities validated good teaching and good teachers; how participants felt permission to take more risks as

teachers and scholars, and how faculty members became more student-centered, eager to explore what their students need and how to reach and fire their students' intellectual engagement, rather than being focused on conveying what the instructor knows. Because participants themselves once again were students tackling formidable and unsettling material, they reconnected in new ways to the experience of contemporary students in their classes or under their care in student affairs.

Some long-term by-products of faculty development initiatives surfaced. In addition to influencing future generations of students, participants in faculty development initiatives also serve in other capacities on campus: on committees on curriculum, hiring, promotion and tenure, resident life, admissions, and student scholarship. To deepen a faculty member's understanding of the scholarship of diversity can then lead to other tangible kinds of institutional change. Many professors realize the value of having and retaining a diverse student body; others begin to press for hiring new colleagues who might expand diversity expertise; others use their new knowledge to argue for curricular change in their departmental requirements.

The Problems of Faculty Development

While there have been measurable successes in faculty development initiatives, there are still vexing problems. In the United States, it is a time-consuming process to re-educate the entire professoriate at 3,500 institutions. Doing it professor by professor and course by course is an agonizingly slow method. At times, too, a given faculty member or a given group of faculty members might change, but not the institution as a whole. Faculty development is a necessary step—but not a sufficient solution—to making diversity a central institutional goal.

Because faculty members tend to see themselves as guardians of a particular body of knowledge, reorienting them to see themselves at the same time as citizens in a larger community goes against the grain of faculty culture. Typically, faculty are responsible for their assigned courses; they are less inclined to think about how their courses might fit into a departmental, divisional, or college-wide whole, or whether the students might need something entirely different to function adequately in the diverse global arena that awaits them or is already part of their lives.

Hindrances to faculty development have many forms. Regrettably, older faculty members sometimes feel threatened, dismissed, and critiqued by the new attention to diversity. Others who value academic freedom worry that they might be told what they can teach and how. Faculty members with expertise in diversity have so many demands placed on them that some burn out, and some who have led efforts singly and without stopping for many years grow weary and discouraged.

Chapter 5

On some campuses, hostility toward diversity undermines efforts; on other campuses, inertia, indifference, and complacency are the barriers. Some faculty members fear that diversity might mean a loss of autonomy and authority in a classroom. Others have professional disciplinary demands that ignore diversity as an appropriate intellectual concern. Current structures of rewards and responsibilities often reinforce the disinclination to engage in diversity work and on some campuses where there has been successful faculty development work, sustaining the commitment and enthusiasm over time proves difficult. Too often insufficient resources, little administrative support, and competing priorities undermine initiatives. At such institutions, there might be lip service to diversity but little else.

Process and Pedagogy in Diversity Work

Faculty and staff members who participate in faculty development activities have many of the same needs as students studying diversity. Faculty members noted that what allows students to flourish contributes, not surprisingly, to their own learning and satisfaction with faculty development experiences. Voice, listening, recognition, dialogue, freedom to question, freedom to be ignorant, freedom to feel, shared intellectual inquiries, trust, and humor are often recurring components of a successful faculty development experience. In AAC&U's summer institute on diversity and democracy, "Boundaries and Borderlands: The Search for Recognition and Community in America," 200 faculty members from some forty schools were assigned to small seminars with fifteen to seventeen people in each. There they met in three-hour morning sessions over ten days to discuss more than a thousand pages of readings. Participants were quite clear about what fostered their learning.

On their evaluations, participants were asked to assess what was most valuable from the seminar because of the leader. They answered with such comments as "The leader created safe, respectful space, treating all of us as resources and equal learners, encouraging dissent and discussion, and not backing away from the affective or the intellectual," and "The leader's warmth, humor, role modeling, and partnership in learning, facilitated the creation of an intellectual community from the start, valuing everyone's contribution." When asked what was most valuable because of the group dynamics established in their seminar, they echoed earlier categories about their seminar leader. They listed factors such as "the permission we gave each other to speak and explore"; "the broad range of expertise and everyone's willingness to listen and learn from others"; "genuine bonding that insured free/open exchange of ideas on complex, sometimes emotional topics." Some participants spoke of the value of conflict; "confronting viewpoints I do not share," wrote one participant, "expressed by people I genuinely like and can

continue to like, and learning that it is not either FIGHT or BE SILENT." Another wrote, "Sustained membership over time provided the opportunity to create a borderland that connected (if not transcended) individual boundaries. Through dialogue and other conversations, we pushed ourselves to think about the requirements of education as democratic practice."

In the final section of the evaluation, where seminar participants were asked to explain what contributed to the quality of learning and exchange, one person wrote, "the ability of seminar members to integrate affective, experiential, and intellectual realms and to bring this to bear on the topics of gender, race, and class." Another concurred by remarking on "our ability to understand across differences through empathy. Our acceptance that the point was NOT to agree." Another participant pointed out the importance of the diversity of the seminar participants when he said, "The gender, race mix was important. I learned from seeing the articles through the eyes of women and colleagues of color."

Other faculty members from a faculty seminar held at Brandeis University commented on the importance of creating an environment free of suspicion and recrimination. At a 1994 Ford Foundation conference in Tucson, Arizona, a group of diversity practitioners compiled their accumulated wisdom about faculty development initiatives. In the process, they underscored the importance of finding ways to focus on specific issues without closing off discussion or implying that only some issues are important.

Clearly, several themes surface again and again about the kind of environment that enhances learning. People need to be sure they listen to one another; that they are recognized and understood in their fullness and complexity; that they integrate emotion and intellect, analyze things that matter deeply to them, share an intellectual excitement about the subjects being examined, expect to learn from one another, and understand that dissent and disagreement are part of learning.

The Role of Students in Faculty Development

In faculty development, there are relatively few experiments that involve students. On the whole, faculty are reluctant to share the precious opportunity to talk with colleagues in open, candid ways as they explore new scholarship, believing that the presence of students would result in censored conversations both ways. However, student involvement has been successful when the faculty development activity builds upon possibilities of student-faculty collaborations. Several schools have invested, as Tulane University did, in projects that assign a student—graduate or undergraduate—to a faculty member teaching a new diversity course. The student assists in research and classroom teaching designs, and is a first-hand witness as a faculty member struggles with

new material. This collaboration helps the student understand the process of creating a coherent set of readings, the experimentation that is part of any vibrant classroom, and the life of a professor. Other schools, such as Queens College and California State University-Los Angeles, have had success in student-faculty research collaborations, especially when a faculty member works with a small group of students to do applied research in the immediate community.

A few institutions have included undergraduate students in faculty seminars. The University of Washington did so successfully, requiring that students do the same readings, come to all the seminar meetings, and receive stipends. If students engage in seminars at all, typically they are graduate students. The University of Maryland, for instance, currently involves graduate students in its seminar on adding gender to international studies. In designing the seminar, the leader especially sought to involve international graduate students, both to make them feel a greater part of the intellectual community and to recognize them as an underutilized resource on campus. In the Ford Foundation's "Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies" project, graduate students were an integral part of the study seminars at UCLA. The graduate students selected, who as a group were more diverse than the faculty members, already had several years of teaching experience and in many cases were embracing new theoretical models for research on race and gender. Their presence revitalized and challenged their professors, while the experience attuned graduate students to some of the challenges of implementing change in the classroom and the curriculum. Not hesitant to engage as equal participants, graduate students boldly challenged faculty members' assumptions and misperceptions about diversity. For their part, graduate students learned about the barriers in the academy that stymied innovative teaching and investigation of new interdisciplinary fields (Rowe, 29).

RANGE OF FACULTY DEVELOPMENT MODELS

[E]ducational democracy involves not only honoring other cultures in their unique integrity, but also working simultaneously with a diversity of human beings . . . We are all equal partners in a shared project of renegotiating the sense of belonging, inclusion, and full enfranchisement at our major institutions. Such renegotiations require time, patience, and careful listening.

RENATO ROSALDO

There is a wide range of designs for faculty development. Deciding on which to choose depends on what is to be accomplished, the resources available, and the commitment participants are willing to make. It is important to know the campus well and to design a faculty development model that fits into its institutional culture.

Among the most common and fruitful models is the faculty seminar, which occasionally will include staff, and will even, less occasionally, involve students. The seminar can last anywhere from three days or, if it is designed for the summer or for a period between semesters, up to five weeks. The longer the time spent together to create a community that trusts one another, the greater the yield through deeper probing into sensitive issues. The stronger the bonding of participants, the greater the likelihood of ongoing networks of peer support. Faculty members also need sufficient time to systematically read the new scholarship of diversity. Extending the period of study during which such immersion is a priority is more likely to lead to an expanded base of expertise.

Some faculty development models take faculty members away from their institution and peers to engage them in a national or regional seminar or workshop. AAC&U's ten-day summer institute on U.S. diversity had a strong impact because faculty members were resident on a small campus; they encountered one another throughout the day and could sustain conversations under a tree, at the lunch table, in the dormitories at night. Their focused study was not interrupted by other duties at home or at their institution, and they were in seminars deliberately constructed to avoid having two people from the same institution.

Although not quite as popular, faculty development seminars during the semester are offered by some institutions; they usually meet weekly for a three-hour period. For many faculty members who have research or family obligations during the summer, nesting the seminars in the midst of a regular work pattern proved workable. The challenge of such models is avoiding being distracted by competing demands from students, departmental obligations, and institutional life in general. At Haverford College, where faculty members were given the option of a reduced course load or a stipend for such seminars, most faculty members opted for a stipend. Although they valued the seminar immensely, they confessed at the end that they were quite pressured for time during the semester. They lacked the leisure that a summer seminar without distractions might have offered.

The University of Maryland women's studies program has relied on a polyseminar model for more than six years. After selecting a theme for a semester study, the women's studies program designs an undergraduate and graduate course around that theme; the course includes readings by feminist scholars who, during a two-day period, come to campus for a public lecture and private meetings with students in the specially designed classes. Meanwhile, on a voluntary basis, faculty and staff meet weekly to discuss a short list of readings that parallel the students' courses. While the focus on study is more limited, the fact that the faculty and staff reading groups have sustained themselves year after year has meant a steady accretion of knowledge and deepening collegial bonds over time. These study groups, encompassing members from a wide range of departments, have become an important source of peer professional support.

Another faculty development model is the solo model, which is very much in keeping with the academic culture of individual research. Many institutions rely on this method to provide faculty members with the necessary time and money for setting a priority for research in an understudied area. Almost all are given stipends either to create a new course, work on a publication, or simply have a stronger theoretical grounding in new scholarship in their field. Faculty members shape the study to their specific interests. The disadvantage of this model is that faculty members have no opportunity for dialogue, no peers with whom to debate an idea, and no one to challenge their analysis. Tulane University combined the solo model with the seminar model by requiring those who were awarded summer research stipends to meet once a week with their colleagues who received similar grants. Faculty members unanimously agreed that the weekly meetings were the best part of the summer study.

A variation of the solo model is to attach a faculty member to a mentor who teaches either at the same institution or, more frequently, at a different one. Bloomfield College relied on this model for one of the phases of its faculty development initiative—a kind of apprenticeship model particularly useful for institutions with little resident expertise and little diversity of faculty. In this model, White faculty members often find themselves mentored by faculty of color, or men find themselves mentored by women. The partnership in itself is often a learning experience that expands faculty members' understanding of diversity.

A frequently chosen model for faculty development involves bringing in an outside expert who, in many instances, has proven provocative. Of all the faculty development initiatives at Tulane University, the one with the least impact was the one in which a special guest came in for only one afternoon. There was little obligation on the part of the audience to do reading ahead of time, there was no follow-up built in, and the usual faculty ownership in the event was lacking. Professors were "guests" who could leave at will. Sometimes, however, an outside expert can have a catalytic effect on a campus, but planners need to think through ahead of time how to use the event in order to foster additional opportunities for faculty development.

The same foresight is needed for one-day workshops. They have little residual impact unless they are designed as part of a larger project that affords multiple opportunities to build upon the insights of the workshop. For AAC&U's recent project integrating new scholarship on women and gender into the sciences, some applicant institutions planned a one-day workshop to teach all the scientists at their school how to teach more inclusively. They underestimated many factors: the resistance of faculty members, the larger context of diversity work, and the extent to which some faculty members would need to surrender their pattern of doling out knowledge, sometimes like

soup in a homeless shelter. Just as faculty development in diversity is more than adding a book or two to the existing syllabus, teaching with diversity in mind involves more than assigning students to work collaboratively in diverse groups.

In designing any workshop or seminar, it is important to make clear ahead of time the learning goals of the activity and the specific outcomes to be accomplished. Several regional workshops over the last five to ten years have focused on helping faculty members transform their courses. Faculty members come to the Great Lakes Colleges Association or to the Center for Research on Women at the University of Memphis for three-day summer workshops. Participants are expected to learn how to recraft a specific course according to the scholarship and pedagogy of diversity. The focus is on curriculum design rather than intellectual study in a field, and the faculty member is expected to work on his or her syllabus over the course of the workshop. Experts are available to assist the participants.

By contrast, AAC&U's Boundaries and Borderlands Institute chose not to focus on course design, preferring to introduce participants to new conceptual frameworks emerging from the expanding body of scholarship on diversity and democracy. Participants attended afternoon workshops on curricular design and pedagogy; the morning seminars were designed as an opportunity to debate ideas and theories and to study intensively representative scholarship for reconceiving disciplines and courses. The seminars and each session's readings were interdisciplinary in nature, thematic in design, and comparative across intersecting differences. Only after the institute could the faculty member turn to the task of integrating newly learned concepts into a course.

In a highly regarded summer institute sponsored by the Washington Center for Improving the Quality of Undergraduate Education and led by Johnella Butler and Betty Schmitz, participants similarly studied relevant scholarship rather than focusing primarily on course design. Unlike AAC&U's institute, the Washington Institute opted to study scholarship about each American racial group in discrete and separate readings. The leaders, however, sought to develop a comparative capacity in participants, who were required to study at least two racial groups. Issues of gender, class, sexuality, and other differences were explored through the readings. This process reproduced the intellectual richness others have discovered by organizing study in such a way that participants explore the complexities of intersecting, multiple, and fluid differences.

Some seminars are organized by disciplinary groupings in which faculty members can cluster by their departmental and research affiliations. Boston College organized its six clusters of faculty groups in order to develop a strong multicultural emphasis in specified core courses in its general education offerings. Others, such as the different study groups at Pitzer College, have opted for an issues focus. UCLA organized its multiple seminars largely by discipline and with a thematic framing.

Whatever the model, it is important that its goals be clear, its design appropriate for an institutional context, and its purposes within a carefully planned, larger institutional diversity plan. Finally, there is no single faculty development model that will be sufficient by itself. The best faculty development is continuous, varied, and intellectually robust. Bringing faculty members up to speed in the pedagogy and scholarship of diversity is not a one-time effort. Rather, it must be sustained over time with ample opportunity for continued study, candid dialogue, and self-evaluations.

In a research project that represents the kind of institutional change analysis so important to the field, Paula Reis (1994) identifies facts that either facilitated or inhibited professors' ability to revise courses. Using the Ford Foundation "Mainstreaming Minority Women's Studies" project at UCLA for her data, Reis tracked three of the UCLA faculty development seminars comprised of twenty-two faculty members from four departments. Three factors influenced the quality of final course revisions: "the actual experience in the seminar, the disciplinary training of the faculty members; and their social location (rank, gender, race, etc.)" (41). Reis identified three kinds of course revisions: Transforming, Shifting, and Adding. In Transforming revisions, faculty members made more comprehensive reconceptions of the frameworks for their course, careful not to marginalize women of color. In Shifting revisions, faculty members began restructuring their courses in order to address ethnicity or gender; they were more clearly in the midst of a transition than the Transforming revisions. In Adding revisions, faculty members either made no revisions at all or chose to add material on women of color only when it fit preexisting course topics (38).

Reis discovered that Transforming revisions required two things: "some kind of outsider status ([that] refers to some kind of experience which places individuals outside of a particular group and its norms) . . . and an interdisciplinary perspective or ethnic research focus" (41). Qualitative methodology, an interdisciplinary perspective, or an ethnic research focus were factors that facilitated Shifting revisions. Those faculty members who had none of the above qualifiers and had a negative or neutral experience in the faculty development seminar were more likely to make Adding revisions (41). These findings have important implications for future faculty development designs.

SUSTAINING, ASSESSING, AND FUNDING FACULTY DEVELOPMENT

Education as the practice of freedom becomes not a force which fragments or separates, but one that brings us closer, expanding our definitions of home and community.

BELL HOOKS

Sustaining Faculty Development

The most successful faculty development initiatives have strong grassroots support from the faculty, matched by strong support from top administrators. Together, they can plan an ongoing set of activities that will deepen knowledge and sustain faculty members in their commitment to intellectual renewal as scholars and teachers. A designated committee responsible for insuring a series of ongoing activities has helped many institutions. The teaching and learning centers, for instance, are a source for sustaining diversity initiatives if, in fact, their staff has the expertise and the commitment to make diversity a priority. At Bloomfield College and the University of Massachusetts-Boston, teaching centers have been the focal point for sponsoring ongoing activities that deepen knowledge about diversity.

Faculty and staff members who have participated together in seminars can begin to meet on a voluntary basis once a month or once a week. Sometimes it takes the initiative of an administrator to call participants back to reflect on the seminar's impact on their teaching and research or to discuss how to sustain further work. At Ferris State University, a dean invited several faculty members to his house on Saturday mornings to discuss shared readings. What began as a group of four to six people has now expanded to forty and includes a newsletter. The University of Pennsylvania Seminar, sponsored through the women's studies program, plans forums with leading feminist scholars who present papers, read ahead of time by a group of interested faculty members in the Philadelphia area. When an institution does not offer ways to sustain diversity work, or even if it does, these regional and national networks are invaluable sources for expanding knowledge and developing connections with other scholars in one's field.

Sustaining the work is not the responsibility of a single person, but the collective responsibility of the academic community as a whole. It often demands that people take the initiative, be entrepreneurial and ready to create new mechanisms for supporting each other in what is a lifetime's work. Everyone in the institution can play a role in sustaining diversity initiatives. The president can do so by establishing diversity as an educational priority and central mission of the institution. The provost, academic vice-presidents, and academic deans serve to reiterate the president's message and demon-

strate in measurable ways that diversity matters. Academic administrators are able to release funds to support work, help raise new funds for new projects, effectively argue in meetings for diversity as an institutional priority deserving of allocated line item funding. Administrators and faculty members alike can make sure that investing in faculty development work is valued at the time of promotion and tenure decisions and that new hiring takes into account the diversity expertise needed on a given campus. Department chairs are in a position to make diversity central to the work of the major, support faculty through internal funding for study and travel, and initiate new diversity courses within departmental offerings.

Alumni offices have the means to inform graduates about faculty development research and study, innovative courses, and their impact on student learning. The development office can raise diversity's profile as a funding possibility and identify funding sources. Collaborating with faculty members, student affairs personnel engage in complementary projects: presentations in residences of new knowledge about diversity, campus wide symposia, special programming with faculty members, counseling centers, or career centers. Librarians play a role in sustaining the work of diversity through the materials they order for the library shelves, special exhibitions, or series of bibliographies for students and faculty that allow each to pursue further study of a diversity issue. And finally, new collaborations between the community and the college offer a way to sustain diversity work, as they discover mutual benefits from their common commitment to diversity.

Assessing Faculty Development Initiatives

It is critical that diversity practitioners and researchers do a better job of evaluating the impact of faculty development—on individual faculty members, on students, and on the institution as a whole. They also need to evaluate faculty development designs to determine which models most effectively achieve their ends. Not enough is known about the different intellectual pathways that cause faculty members to change and the developmental processes that are part of that journey. Tracking over time the change in how faculty members teach, how they do their research, and what they study after being introduced to the scholarship of diversity are needed, as is more information that monitors unexpected byproducts of faculty development activities and how participants contribute to larger institutional commitments to diversity as a primary educational goal.

In the United States, one of the pressing issues for the next five years remains: How to build greater capacities and commitment to assessing the investment in faculty development models. Three organizations, for instance, that have offered a wide range of fac-

ulty development opportunities regionally and statewide have collected a large pool of data from evaluation forms, transformed courses, and ongoing connections with faculty members. These faculty have participated in activities sponsored by the Great Lakes Colleges Association, the New Jersey Project on Curriculum Integration, and the Washington Center for Improving the Quality of Undergraduate Education. Their staff members have simply been too busy to systematically study the data, a situation repeated over and over again at colleges and universities across the country.

A new collaboratively funded project housed at AAC&U, *Understanding the Difference Diversity Makes: Assessing Campus Diversity and Tolerance Initiatives*, seeks to address this under-studied aspect of diversity work and to suggest campus-driven and user-friendly ways to build capacities and habits for the person who never took a statistics course as well as for those who might teach one.

One of the pressing reasons practitioners in the United States are eager to establish more data on assessing diversity is to make a more persuasive case to the public about the value of diversity in higher education and society at large. For a number of years, the critics of diversity have won the media battle and framed the way the public understood the work taking place on college campuses. Distortion, misinformation, and exaggerated scare tactics were the angles, for the most part, presented in the print and broadcast media. That picture is changing as more evidence is gathered, as more academics are willing to play the role of the public intellectual, and as diversity practitioners are strategically thinking through how to communicate what is happening on their campuses. The Ford Foundation has launched a Public Information Project (PIP) that has already stimulated practitioners to be proactive, seek media training, and create a collective campus strategy for more accurately describing to colleagues, students, alumni, and the general public the value of diversity on their campus. A new diversity website is now on line, electronic catalogues such as *Diversity Connections* are available, and a new quarterly, *Diversity Digest*, has been established. All are part of Diversity Works, a Ford Foundation-funded campaign to communicate what has been collectively learned. Eventually, the PIP will have set in place a new infrastructure for practitioners to turn to in order to communicate more accurately and effectively through a database of communities of influence.

Coda: Spaces of Possibility

Benjamin Barber's quotation, used to open this paper, argues that there is a direct correlation between democracy and learning. To enhance one is to enhance the other. Each is dependent on freedom and openness, inclusive communities, and the vigorous exchange of ideas. Fundamental to both processes, however, is that members must see themselves as empowered to be full participants in a set of common activities.

The operative words are "empowered," "full participants," and "common activities." In a society and a world marred by inequalities, uneven allocations of wealth and privilege, and habits of segregated rather than common activities, it is indeed a challenge to turn democratic aspiration into democratic practice. Higher education is a key site of possibility and promise. As Renato Rosaldo (1993) explains it, "We are all equal partners in a shared project of renegotiating the sense of belonging, inclusion, and full enfranchisement at our major institutions. Such renegotiations require time, patience, and careful listening" (xvii). Faculty members, as keepers and crafters of knowledge, as nurturers of minds and hearts, hold not "the" key but "a" key to doors too long locked and windows too long closed. The moment is upon us to make history or simply record its passage. "Democracy," as Maxine Greene reminds us, "is a community always in the making . . . forever incomplete . . . founded in possibilities." It is time for faculty members to assume greater responsibility and leadership for turning our campuses into democratic spaces of possibility.

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Affirmative Action
Policies in
Higher Education:
The Indian Experience

6

INTRODUCTION

India's founding fathers knew that in a country where large numbers of people are socially, economically, politically, and educationally backward, constitutional declarations and guarantees of formal equality¹ would be meaningless and might aggravate existing inequalities unless Indian officials also made provisions to help the backward classes compete with more advanced classes. To give meaning and content to the guarantee of formal equality, the Constitution also called for special treatment of historically disadvantaged groups (Articles 15[4] and 16[4]). By embracing affirmative action policy, newly independent India sought to implement the commitment made during the freedom movement: to integrate the historically disadvantaged and excluded population into the mainstream of national life.

The policy entails systematic departures from such norms of equity as merit, even-handedness, and indifference to ascriptive group characteristics. The founding fathers considered these departures justified in several ways. First, they viewed affirmative action policy as necessary to counteract the persistence of subtle and indirect discrimination. Second, the policy was justified by the benefits it would presumably promote: integration, the use of neglected talent, and more equitable distribution of resources. Third, the founding fathers viewed affirmative action as compensation for the systematic and cumulative deprivations suffered by lower castes in the past. These multiple justifications point to the complexities of pursuing affirmative action policy and assessing its performance.²

India's policy of affirmative action in favor of historically disadvantaged groups is unprecedented in scope and extent. The policy does not rest on the concept of welfare or charity. Rather, the founding fathers considered affirmative action a method of creative social engineering and a way of eliminating the traditional caste hierarchy. The millions of Indians belonging to "weaker sections" of society are the beneficiaries of an elaborate system of affirmative action that gives them special legislative representation³ as well as special treatment in employment (Articles 16[4] and 15[4]), education, and government service (Articles 16[4] and 15[4]).

The policy has had major redistributive effects. Today, those once stigmatized as "untouchables" play a role in public life that would have been unimaginable a few

decades ago. Since the age-old religiously sanctioned caste barriers have been one of the policy's major targets of attack, it is natural for the more privileged castes, which over the centuries enjoyed benefits at the cost of lower castes, to resist the transformation. There is growing evidence of such resistance, including in the recent past, protest marches and general strikes. Some of these have turned violent.⁴

This three-part paper aims at examining the nature, scope, and impact of affirmative action policy in Indian higher education. The first part describes how affirmative action policy has been incorporated into constitutionally guaranteed rights—especially the right to formal equality—and protected by courts equipped with broad powers of judicial review. The second part surveys India's affirmative action policy in higher education and attempts to assess its impact on enhancing the education of historically disadvantaged groups as well as ensuring and expanding their representation on the teaching faculties. The third part offers general conclusions and lists some fundamental suggestions for making the policy of affirmative action more effective in the context of a higher education system.

I. THE CONSTITUTIONAL DESIGN AND SCOPE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY

In *Competing Equalities*, Marc Galanter⁵ notes that one of the characteristic features of traditional Indian society was its division into watertight compartments called castes and the channeling of inequalities through them. Although the castes were interdependent and cooperative, their relationships were highly exploitative. The social, economic, political, and educational conditions of people belonging to the lowest tier of the caste system were wretched and deplorable, e.g., they could not drink water from the same wells as members of the higher castes. Those higher in caste status even avoided touching members of the lowest tier for fear of being defiled, a custom that exists to some extent even now. Members of the lower castes were not allowed to study the sacred scriptures or to worship at the temples of higher caste Hindus. If a lower caste member tried to improve his or her position or behave in a manner not prescribed by society, he or she would suffer severe and inhuman punishment. Being economically weak and socially oppressed, members of the lower castes could not retaliate.

In response to such discrimination against members of the lower castes, India's national leaders began to emphasize restoring the dignity of these dehumanized and downtrodden people, protecting their economic and social interests, and ensuring their rightful participation in the democratic process. It was on behalf of these aims that the framers of the Constitution incorporated the policy of affirmative action into the constitutional order.

This affirmative action approach was envisioned as an exceptional and temporary measure to be used only for the purpose of mitigating inequalities, and it was designed to disappear along with these inequalities. This effort to secure equality through affirmative action must be seen in its constitutional context. In the Constitution, the compensatory theme appears juxtaposed with the theme of formal equality: the provisions for affirmative action appear as exceptions within the framework of enforceable rights. They are intended to guarantee equal treatment to the individual by limiting the significance of ascriptive group characteristics that historically had been used as the basis for discrimination.

India's Constitution confers on all citizens a fundamental right to be free of discrimination by the state on grounds of race,⁶ religion, and caste. Article 51(1) of the Constitution generally prohibits governmental discrimination on these grounds. More significantly, Article 16 (2) prohibits discrimination with regard to state employment, and Article 325 with regard to voting. The government is further forbidden to discriminate on grounds of place of birth, residence, descent, class, language, and sex.⁷

The government is expected not only to refrain from discriminatory practices in the public sphere, but also to seek to eliminate them in the private sphere. The practice of regarding certain castes as "untouchable" is forbidden, and certain discriminatory practices by private persons and institutions are banned (Art. 17). Discrimination by private individuals regarding the use of public facilities and accommodations is also prohibited, as is discrimination in private educational institutions (See Arts. 15[2], 28[3], 29[2]).

This attack on public and private discrimination, however, is only one facet of the constitutional scheme to secure equality. The Constitution also directs the government to undertake special measures for the advancement of backward groups. The Indian Constitution identifies three official categories of the historically underprivileged population for special treatment — Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes.⁸

Five provisions in the Constitution enable the government to establish a specified proportion of appointments or enrollments reserved for backward classes, called "reservations." Article 15(4) permits the state to make special provisions for the educational, economic, or social advancement of socially and educationally backward classes. The state can make such provisions by exercising executive power without legislative ratification. Article 16(4) permits the state to reserve appointments for members of the backward classes that are not adequately represented in the civil service.

In addition to reservations in government employment, seats in the national Parliament and in the legislative assemblies of the states are reserved under Articles 330 and 332 of the Constitution, respectively. Article 46 directs the state to promote with

special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the population, in particular the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Article 335⁹ provides that the claims of members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration when making appointments to services or posts, with due regard to administrative efficiency.

By enacting these provisions, the framers of the Constitution not only declared their intention to elevate the backward classes, but also provided a detailed scheme for securing equality. Not surprisingly, these provisions have been a source of debate, sometimes even of resentment, among the higher castes. This debate has largely focused on the scope and extent of reservations envisaged under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. The following paragraphs attempt to capture the contours of the debate and its impact.

One of the most contentious issues in the application of Articles 15(4) and 16(4) has been the extent of the reservations. The Constitution does not specify the proportion of appointed positions that should be reserved, and has thus freed individual states to set their own quotas.

Some states have reserved for backward classes more than two-thirds of the total seats available in engineering and medical colleges. Since an education in engineering and medicine is prestigious, expensive, and lucrative, the reservation of such a large number of available seats invited strong resentment from members of high castes and caused a spate of violence in the early 1980s in Gujarat and elsewhere.

The Supreme Court responded to the situation in a series of cases, and finally stated, in the case of *Indira Swahney v. Union of India*,¹⁰ that reservations contemplated in Articles 15(4) and 16(4) could not exceed 50 percent. Noting the great diversity of the country and its people, the court allowed for exceptions in special circumstances. It observed, for example, that conditions in remote areas of the country might warrant establishing a higher quota. The court cautioned that arguments in support of exceptions would need to be persuasive, and then gave two further clarifications: First, it excluded from the 50 percent limit those members of backward classes who were selected on their own merit. According to the second clarification, the 50 percent rule was to be applied annually to appointments occurring in that year rather than to the entire cadre of appointees. These pronouncements represented the court's attempt to strike a balance between the need to make special provisions for members of backward classes and the fear amongst high castes of being completely left out.

Determining which groups should benefit from affirmative action has been another contentious issue resulting in serious constitutional and extraconstitutional battles. Members of groups ranked just above the official Scheduled Castes have asked to be

included under the reservation policy, while members of higher or "forward" castes have vigorously opposed extension of the policy, fearing that it would further shrink their access to education and jobs.

Historically, the Indian government had set aside positions only for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Extension of these benefits to the official category Other Backward Classes did not win approval until the decision in 1990 to implement portions of the *Mandal Commission Report*. Clauses 24¹¹ and 25¹² of Article 266 define Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, respectively, but the Constitution does not so define Other Backward Classes. However, the Constitution does provide for the appointment of a commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labor, and it recommends steps to improve these conditions. The Constitution stipulates that the commission's report be presented to the President of India, who would in turn forward it to the parliament, along with a memorandum explaining any executive action the president proposed (Article 340). The government has established two such commissions since ratification of the Constitution—one under Kaka Kalelkar in 1953 and the other under B P Mandal in 1978 (reporting respectively in 1955 and 1980).

The Kalelkar Commission failed to formulate any objective criteria for identifying "backward classes," and that caused the government of India to reject its recommendations. The commission had classified such a large segment of the population as backward that the government feared that the "really needy will be swamped by the multitude."

The Mandal Commission, whose membership exclusively comprised the backward castes, went even further. Its report listed 3,743 castes as backward, compared with 2,399 identified by the Kalelkar Commission. The second commission concluded that 52 percent of the country's population comprised backward castes, and accordingly argued that 52 percent of all posts under the central government ought to be reserved for backward castes. The commission later amended the recommendation to conform to the judgment of the Supreme Court, which had limited its reservations to 50 percent.

Another major dispute has involved the debate over the relationship between "caste" and "class," and the extent to which the government should use these categories in determining eligibility for reservations. Although the Mandal Commission has been dubbed the "Backward Classes Commission," its report does not define the term "class" and assumes that "class" means "caste." The Constitution, on the other hand, while providing for special treatment of Scheduled Castes, does not make "caste" as such the basis of the reservation policy, preferring instead to use general criteria such as social, educational, and economic backwardness. Mandal, however, believed that the substitution of a socioeconomic test for "caste" ignored the historical roots of social backwardness in

Indian society. When the government decided in 1990 to implement portions of the *Mandal Report* and reserve 27 percent of vacancies in civil service for backward classes, the decision provoked consternation and strong resentment and was challenged before the Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court had dealt with the issue before, but the history of its deliberations had produced no clear guidelines. In *M.R. Balji v. State of Mysore*,¹³ the court held that the caste of a group of persons could not be the sole or even predominant factor, although it might be a relevant test for ascertaining whether or not a particular class should be considered backward. It ruled that backwardness under Article 15(4) must be social and educational, and that social backwardness was, in the final analysis, the result of poverty. One's occupation and place of residence could be the other relevant factors in determining social backwardness. The court invalidated the test of backwardness that was based predominantly, if not solely, on caste.

In *R. Chitralekha v. State of Mysore*,¹⁴ the court accepted the criteria adopted by the Mysore government for ascertaining the backwardness of a class, which included economic conditions and occupation but not caste. A few years later, in *P. Rajendran v. State of Madras*,¹⁵ the court upheld a test of backwardness that was predominantly based on caste. It said, "Now if the reservation in question had been based only on caste, it would be violative of Article 15(1). But it must not be forgotten that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made in favor of such a caste on the grounds that it is a socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Article 15(4)."

In *State of A.P. v. P. Sagar*,¹⁶ the court invalidated the exclusive use of caste as a criterion, with the observation that, while caste could not be excluded from the determination of the likenesses and common traits of the homogeneous groups called "classes" in Article 15(4), a determination based solely on caste was unacceptable. In *A. Periakaruppen v. State of Tamil Nadu*,¹⁷ the court upheld a caste-based test of backwardness with the observation that it was permissible, provided that such castes are socially and educationally backward; however, it warned against the creation of vested interests in favor of castes, and asked for constant revision of the test.

In *Jayasree v. State of Kerala*,¹⁸ the court noted that, in ascertaining the social backwardness of a class of citizens, considering the group's caste might not always help. The court observed that social backwardness resulted from poverty, but went on to say that the backwardness was likely to be affected by caste. In the case of *State of Kerala v. N.M. Thomas*,¹⁹ Justice Krishna Iyer stated that, while the more affluent Harijans (formerly "Untouchables"), should be given protection in employment, they should not be permitted to reap the benefits of preferential treatment on behalf of Harijans as a class.

From these and other decisions of the Supreme Court, no clear guidelines emerged for determining backwardness in the context of Articles 15(4) and 16(4). Because of this confusion, the State of Karnataka asked the court in 1985 to set a clear policy on this vexing question (in *K. C. Vasanth Kumar v. State of Karnataka*²⁰). Ironically, however, the five Supreme Court judges who heard the case wrote five separate opinions on the question. Perusal of the opinions reveals that one judge considered poverty the only test of backwardness, while the others included caste as a relevant consideration.

In 1993, a nine-judge panel in *Indira Sawhney v. Union of India* considered the question. The petitioners who had challenged the government's decision concerning the *Mandal Commission Report* contended that the decision entailed the use of caste as a dominant, if not exclusive, criterion for determining backwardness. In rejecting the petitioners' contention, the court held that class should not be construed in Marxist terms. The court also rejected the suggestion that the Constitution could prescribe a single procedure for identifying backward classes, and declined to take responsibility for devising such a procedure.

The court concluded that the authority appointed to identify backward classes must be granted sufficient flexibility to do the job. It could adopt any method or procedure that it thought appropriate, provided that its survey covered the entire populace. The court said that the backward classes could certainly be identified with reference to castes along with other occupational groups and classes. The process could start either with the occupational groups, the castes, or another relevant grouping. Regardless of the starting point, the court said, the criteria for determining backwardness should be applied and a judgment made as to whether the group satisfied the criteria. If it did, it should be declared a "backward class of citizens" for the purposes of Articles 15(4) and 16(4). The same process could be used in the case of other occupational groups, communities, and classes. The central idea and the overall objective should be to consider all available groups in society. Since caste represented identifiable social groups that encompassed the overwhelming majority of the country's population, one could well begin with caste and then proceed to other groups and classes.

The court included several collateral decisions in its ruling. It determined that a class need not be specifically designated "backward" if its situation was similar to that of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also said that several occupational groups, sects, and denominations existed among non-Hindus that, for historical reasons, were socially backward and to which Articles 15(4) and 16(4) applied. In regard to the governmental decision to make additional reservations for "other economically backward sections of the people" who were not covered by any existing scheme of reservation, the court held that economic criteria alone could not be the basis for backwardness, although they could be considered in addition to other criteria of social backwardness.

The court further suggested creating a permanent body within the central government to monitor the list of backward classes and to revise it periodically. To aid the monitoring process, the court came out with the idea of the "creamy layer," which comprised those who had benefited most from the reservation policy and who should therefore be excluded. Another significant suggestion by the court was that reservations were not advisable for activities requiring high-level skills, such as defense, technical, and scientific services, and for professionals such as pilots and university professors. Finally, the court held that the constitutional provisions for affirmative action did not permit reservations in the matter of promotion.

The decisions in *Indira Swahney* were an example of creative social engineering by the Supreme Court. The court's objective was to reconcile the conflicting demands of contending groups. Many students of Indian law and the courts have rightly observed that, while the Indian Constitution clearly intended preferential treatment and reservations in the civil service and educational institutions for "weaker sections" of society, it did not define the scope and extent of this intention. The Supreme Court has been effective in taking a creative, social engineering approach to defining the scope of affirmative action policy.

II. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Because newly independent India considered education an instrument of development, it launched massive efforts and expenditures to bring about an educational explosion. These efforts and expenditures have increased steadily and rapidly, and enrollments have increased correspondingly. The proportion of the population receiving instruction has increased at every level.

The growth of higher education since independence has been phenomenal. India today has 223 university-level institutions and nearly 8,500 colleges, compared to eighteen universities and approximately 700 colleges in 1947. In the same period, the number of students has increased from 200,000 to 5.5 million.²¹ In 1976, education was included in the concurrent list of the Constitution and since then it has become the joint responsibility of the central and state governments. Although the national resolve is to spend 5 percent of national income on education, the government currently spends 3.7 percent of its Domestic National Product, of which the share for higher education is 0.8 percent. Incidentally, higher education's share was 0.71 percent in the First Five-Year Plan, increased to 1.24 percent in the Fourth Five-Year Plan, and declined in subsequent years to 4 percent in the Eighth Five-Year Plan.²²

In a democratic society, access to higher education must be linked to equity. In India, the expansion of educational opportunities during the decades following inde-

pendence was accompanied by a special commitment to raise educational levels among those who had previously been denied access to education. The obligation of the state is clearly articulated in the Constitution, particularly in the Preamble and Parts III and IV, and in various policy announcements made by the state and the judiciary. The population groups identified for special treatment include Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, women, groups identified as socially and educationally backward, and the handicapped. These affirmative action measures include a wide array of preferential schemes, including reservation of seats; relaxation of admission qualifications; special entitlements such as scholarships, grants, and free books; and special services, including extra hours of teaching and special academic coaching classes.

It is significant that the Indian government's commitment to removing disparities and equalizing educational opportunities in higher education prompted the first amendment to the Constitution within the first year after its ratification. Originally, the Constitution did not empower the state to reserve enrollment seats in educational institutions in favor of the backward classes, and in *State of Madras v. Champakam Derairajan*²³ the Supreme Court said that it would prohibit such reservations in the absence of a specific constitutional provision. However, it quickly became apparent that reserving civil service positions would be futile without also reserving seats in educational institutions.²⁴ The court also felt that the reservation of seats in educational institutions was one important way to ensure that backward classes received access to higher education. The First Amendment to the Constitution addressed this problem by empowering the state to make special provisions regarding admissions to any educational institutions run by the state, "for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward class of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

Indian higher education has widely adopted the policy of reservations. State governments and, at the national level, the Ministry of Human Resources Development and the University Grants Commission (UGC), have established reservation schemes of 15 percent and 7.5 percent, respectively, of available seats in universities and colleges for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the reservation policy has not met its goals, due mainly to the paucity of candidates with minimum admissions qualifications.

The reasons for the scarcity of candidates are apparent. Children from low-status groups tend to go to schools with the least adequate facilities, the least qualified teachers, and the least advantaged fellow students. They also lack family resources and motivation. Those who finish school have poor academic records that do not qualify them for admission to reserved spaces in higher education.

In response to this situation, admissions requirements have been lowered, a practice that the Supreme Court has upheld.²⁵ This practice, along with other compromises, has

provoked deep resentment in the recent past. Attempts to expand the coverage of reservations have met strong resistance, sometimes culminating in serious violence. When the State of Tamil Nadu increased reservations of seats in colleges beyond 50 percent (the limit set in the *Indira Swahney* case), the court struck down the increase. When the government of the State of Gujarat announced in 1985 that it would raise the reserved quota for backward classes in universities from 10 percent to 28 percent (in addition to the 21 percent already reserved for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes), this decision unleashed large-scale violence resulting in the deaths of approximately 225 people.²⁶

Ensuring access to higher education through reservations and the lowering of admission requirements is not enough. It is equally important to introduce measures to help those admitted to remain enrolled. The UGC has introduced a scheme called "Remedial Coaching for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Universities and Colleges." The main purpose of the scheme is to improve the academic skills and linguistic proficiency of these students in subjects involving quantitative techniques and laboratory work.²⁷ State governments and the UGC have launched various schemes for awarding scholarships and grants to members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who enter higher education. The UGC has also instructed universities receiving grants for the construction of hostels to reserve 20 percent of the spaces in these residence halls for students from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. This provision, if earnestly implemented, would contribute to the retention of disadvantaged students, many of whom, coming from rural areas, sometimes find it difficult to reside in rented accommodations and to take meals outside.

The affirmative action schemes described above have been partly responsible for the steady increase in the number of students from backward classes who reach higher education. The contrast with the situation prior to India's independence is stunning. In 1927, of almost 55,000 college students in India (excluding Bengal), only eighty-two students came from the depressed classes. By the 1961 census, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes accounted for closer to 1 percent of the nation's graduates.²⁸ By 1993, the percentage of students belonging to these categories exceeded 10 percent. Table 1 indicates the representation of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students in the total enrollments for 1993, 1994, and 1995.

Table 1

	1993	1994	1995
Student Enrollment at Different Levels of Higher Education	4,902,198	5,124,685	5,853,464
Enrollment of Scheduled Caste Students at Different Levels of Higher Education (% in brackets)	416,946 (8.51%)	458,528 (8.93%)	533,264 (9.11%)
Enrollment of Scheduled Tribe Students at Different Levels of Higher Education (% in brackets)	136,686 (2.7%)	162,818 (3.1%)	181,311 (3.2%)
Combined Percentage of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Students in Higher Education	11.21%	12.03%	12.31%

Source: Government of India (1994, 1995, 1996) Selected Educational Statistics, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96. New Delhi Ministry of Human Resources Development, New Delhi
(Information provided has been rearranged to fit into the designs and scheme of the paper and every effort has been made to see that no changes or distortions are introduced.)

Although a steady increase in the enrollment of students from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in higher education has occurred, it has not met expectations. The reasons, which include poor economic and social conditions, the rural origins of most disadvantaged candidates, lack of encouragement, the intense competitiveness in higher education, and other such factors, are discussed elsewhere in this paper.

Students from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are concentrated in the less prestigious, less demanding, and less remunerative subjects. 1995 figures reveal that 54.1 percent of students from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes enrolled in the less prestigious bachelor of arts (B.A.) programs, while only 1.81 percent from these categories enrolled in M.B.B.S. (M.D.) and only 1.17 percent enrolled in master of science (M.Sc.) courses. As already noted, many students from Scheduled Castes and

Scheduled Tribes come from schools with poor facilities as well as from families with little educational background. Their academic performance tends to be poor, and although little data are available, the dropout rate among these students seems quite high.

Table 2: Enrollment of Scheduled Caste Students in Higher Education

COURSE	1993	1994	1995
M.A.	25,708	29,152	36,302
M.Sc.	3,953	4,546	7,066
M.Com.	6,472	5,726	5,987
B.A.	194,083	226,041	273,568
B.Sc.	58,331	61,439	70,285
B.Com.	60,897	55,872	60,084
B.E./B.Sc. (Eng.)	16,953	20,153	21,084
B.Ed./B.T.	9,356	11,860	12,535
M.B.B.S./Ayur	7,148	9,363	9,961
Polytechnic	34,045	34,376	36,392

Source: Government of India (1994, 1995, 1996) Selected Educational Statistics, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96. New Delhi Ministry of Human Resources Development, New Delhi (Information provided has been rearranged to fit into the designs and scheme of the paper and every effort has been made to see that no changes or distortions are introduced.)

Recently, the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes sent a circular to universities suggesting that they introduce a policy of reservations for enrolling students in Ph.D. programs²⁹ to increase the number of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe students going into research. The commission noted the insufficiency of existing policies for awarding scholarships and research assistantships, introduced by the UGC and various government departments, to candidates from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The commission hopes that the reservation of seats in Ph.D. programs will encourage such enrollments and eventually increase the representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on teaching faculties. The policy of reserving doctoral seats in medical colleges for disadvantaged students has been challenged before the Supreme

Table 3: Enrollment of Scheduled Tribe Students in Higher Education

COURSE	1993	1994	1995
M.A.	6,019	7,870	9,095
M.Sc.	915	1,220	1,357
M.Com.	1,462	1,514	1,799
B.A.	83,485	101,063	113,088
B.Sc.	10,759	12,331	14,304
B.Com.	14,338	15,883	17,574
B.E./B.Sc. (Eng.)	4,119	5,469	5,650
B.Ed./B.T.	2,950	3,576	4,383
M.B.B.S./Ayur	2,710	2,773	2,989
Polytechnic	9,929	11,119	11,072

*Source: Government of India (1994, 1995, 1996) Selected Educational Statistics, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96. New Delhi Ministry of Human Resources Development, New Delhi
(Information provided has been rearranged to fit into the designs and scheme of the paper and every effort has been made to see that no changes or distortions are introduced.)*

Court. In 1996, the court upheld the constitutional validity of making these doctoral reservations. The court's judgment has stirred strong and conflicting feelings on both sides.

In summary, the various initiatives that have been launched during the past four decades, including reservations and the provision of special services and facilities, have helped socially and educationally backward classes of citizens achieve greater access—or any access—to higher education. These affirmative action measures have also significantly diversified the student population. However, despite these policies and programs, the representation of weaker sections of the population has been insufficient and has remained concentrated in less prestigious courses. It is only in the last decade and a half that students from the disadvantaged categories have taken advantage of reservations in colleges of engineering and medicine. In most cases, the students who have done so are from higher caste families.

The need for greater efforts on behalf of students from the backward classes is even more urgent because of the entrance of private initiatives into Indian higher education.

While these new private institutions may improve the quality of education and extend its range into more branches of knowledge, they also may be more expensive and thus become an economic barrier to disadvantaged students, even if seats are reserved. The advocates of private initiatives need to devise ways of ensuring access for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

III. AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY AND ACCESS TO TEACHING POSITIONS

Despite the policy of reserving posts in universities and colleges (15 percent for Scheduled Castes and 7.5 percent for Scheduled Tribes), the representation of backward classes in teaching positions has remained small, particularly in national universities. Table 4 demonstrates that the backward classes remain almost unrepresented on the faculties of national universities, despite the special provisions that the framers of the Constitution made for them. Table 4 deals with only eight universi-

Table 4: Percentage of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the Faculty of Selected National Universities

University	1991-1992		1992-1993		1993-1994	
	SC	ST	SC	ST	SC	ST
Aligarh Muslim University	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Banaras Hindu University	1.03	0.00	1.25	0.00	1.30	0.00
Jawaharlal Nehru University	N/A	N/A	3.16	9.47	3.70	3.70
Hyderabad University	6.94	0.00	8.59	0.00	8.30	0.00
Jamia Millia Islamia	0.00	0.00	N/A	N/A	0.00	0.00
North Eastern Hill University	0.00	43.05	0.00	47.30	0.00	52.1
University of Delhi	1.89	0.63	1.80	0.60	N/A	N/A
Visva-Bharati University	4.20	0.00	4.20	0.00	N/A	N/A

Source: Government of India (1994, 1995, 1996) *Selected Educational Statistics, 1993-94, 1994-95, and 1995-96*. New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resources Development. New Delhi (information provided has been rearranged to fit into the designs and scheme of the paper and every effort has been made to see that no changes or distortions are introduced.)

ties, all of which are national. These national universities are considered less vulnerable to regional politics and are comparatively better off in terms of finances and resources; thus, they are in a better position to implement the nation's policy of reservations. Table 5 indicates that, even in state universities, the percentage of faculty from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is only slightly greater than in national universities.

Table 5:
Percentage of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes
on the Faculties of Five State Universities during
1995-96

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF SC	PERCENTAGE OF ST
Andhra Pradesh	8.90	1.10
Gujarat	1.10	0.60
Karnataka	10.02	2.60
Maharashtra	7.07	0.90
Uttar Pradesh	0.25	0.06

Source: University Grants Commission Records

Many observers argue that most universities have never really implemented the policy of reservations for faculty positions and that the policy exists simply on paper. Others argue that the lack of scholars in the pipeline is the major cause of nonrepresentation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the faculties. They suggest that it is difficult to find "suitable" candidates from these groups. Advocates of social justice, on the other hand, have criticized the hiring process because it ignores the claims of the historically disadvantaged and oppressed, and overemphasizes notions of "merit" and "suitability," the latter a subjective criterion susceptible to manipulation. Critics of the reservation policy also feel that a hiring process in which officials judge a candidate's worth only based on "merit-cum-interview" forces candidates of unequal background to compete at equal levels, making such a policy inconsistent with affirmative action. They call for strict adherence to the national policy of filling 22.5 percent of positions from available, "qualified" candidates belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. They advocate abandoning reliance on the criterion of "suitability," provided that a disadvantaged candidate possesses the minimum required qualifications.

The government seems to have taken very seriously the issue of nonrepresentation of disadvantaged groups and nonadherence to the reservation policy in faculty appointments. Recently, the Ministry of Human Resources and Development and the UGC notified universities that their grants would be held up if they defaulted on their obligation to implement the national reservation policy. The Ministry and the UGC have called upon the universities to amend their ordinances, statutes, and regulations accordingly.

The issuance of these directives has caused resentment and protest in some higher education circles. The opponents of affirmative action buttress their case by raising the argument of merit, and also by invoking the judgment in *Indira Swahney*, in which the court advised against using the reservation policy for university professorships. Advocates of social justice counter that the court's advice applies only to professors, not to lecturers and readers. It appears that in the final analysis, the warnings from the Ministry of Human Resources and the UGC have encouraged many private and national universities to initiate a process for recruiting faculty from disadvantaged groups. For example, Delhi University recently adopted a system for appointing members of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to teaching positions. Also, under the direction of the Ministry and the UGC, universities have launched a special drive to hire people from these categories and, if qualified people are not available, to keep the positions vacant until targeted candidates can fill them. Two national universities recently advertised their recruitment drives in national newspapers.

In some states, such as Rajasthan, Maharashtra, and Uttar Pradesh, the universities strictly follow the national policy of reservations in making appointments to teaching positions, although in many cases the quotas still remain unfilled due to lack of qualified candidates. In Maharashtra and Rajasthan, the policy of reservations is applied not only at the entry level position of lecturer but also at the higher levels of reader and professor, even though such action contradicts the Supreme Court's advice in *Indira Swahney*.

The UGC has launched additional schemes for recruiting faculty from disadvantaged groups, including setting aside research associateships, lowering by up to 10 percent the cutoff marks on the UGC's Junior Research Fellowship examination, and allocating additional financial assistance to colleges with substantial enrollments of students who are disadvantaged and/or living in backward regions.³⁰

If the Ministry and the UGC sincerely enforce the measures they have announced, they can go a long way toward increasing the representation of members from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the teaching faculties. But if past experience is any guide and the initial reaction of the teaching community is an indicator, it is doubtful that these measures will be implemented seriously.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

It is undeniable that affirmative action policies have produced substantial redistributive effects in Indian higher education. The government has opened educational opportunities to disadvantaged and oppressed citizens. Through compensatory treatment and the reservation policy, members of these groups have not only gained access to higher education, but they have increased their participation in areas of society and national development previously closed to them. But the benefits are not spread evenly among the intended beneficiaries. There is evidence of substantial clustering in how students use these opportunities. Those students better situated among the disadvantaged enjoy a disproportionate share of program benefits. They constitute what the Supreme Court labeled in *Indira Swahney* the "creamy layer" that the government should gradually phase out of the reservation program. This action requires close monitoring, regular surveys of the distributive effects of various programs, and active administration of affirmative action policies by universities and government agencies such as the Ministry of Human Resources and the UGC. Currently, students who could benefit the most from these policies know little or nothing about them. Wider and more effective dissemination of information is vital.

Indian higher education displays a marked disparity between institutional rhetoric and individual experience. As previously stated, many candidates who find access to institutions of higher learning and research either drop out or do not perform well, and this is causing an enormous waste of national resources. The great challenge is to reconcile the need for optimum use of national resources with the need to give the backward classes the opportunity to achieve educational excellence. The challenge has profound implications for the nation, and it demands the combined efforts of all sectors of governance.

It is often argued that the underrepresentation of the disadvantaged on the faculties of higher education institutions is a result of the tight job market; the argument is largely without merit. A more telling factor is the disadvantaged groups' lack of representation on selection boards. Universities would benefit from providing representation of these groups on the boards.

The climate for faculty members from disadvantaged groups remains uncomfortable and difficult; they often believe that they are not taken seriously. The government should make concerted efforts to incorporate these faculty members more actively into the life of the institution. This task demands the shedding of some deeply ingrained prejudices, attitudinal changes, and the development of a higher degree of sensitivity. These difficult tasks will require all of our energies and efforts, but the long-term results will make such changes worthwhile.

Chapter 6

ENDNOTES

1. See *Constitution of India*, Article 14.
2. Galanter, Marc. 1984. *Competing equalities*. London: Oxford University Press.
3. See Articles 330 and 332, which incorporate provisions regarding reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha (Lower House of Parliament) and the Vidhan Sabhas (Lower Houses of the State Legislatures), respectively.
4. The government's announcement of the Mandal Commission Report's partial implementation in 1990 was followed by spurts of violence all over the country, resulting in the loss of extensive property and many lives.
5. Supra note 2.
6. "Race" does not play a prominent part in post-independence Indian jurisprudence. Its presence signifies an end to earlier colonial discrimination on racial grounds (see Galanter, note 2, 364).
7. See Articles 15(2), 16(2), 23(2), 29(2), and 325. Also see Articles 29(1), 30(1), 350-A and 350-B, which grant rights regarding language.
8. Lowercase letters will be used for unofficial terms such as "backward classes" and "disadvantaged groups," which will include all groups that may, from time to time, be declared eligible for special treatment.
9. See Article 335: Claims of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to services and posts. The claims of members of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes shall be taken into consideration, consistently with the maintenance of efficiency of administration, in the making of appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the Union or of a State.
10. All India Reporter. 1993. *Supreme Court* 477.
11. See Article 366(24): "Scheduled Castes" means such castes, races or tribes, or parts of or groups within such castes, races or tribes, as deemed under Article 341 to be Scheduled Castes for the purposes of this Constitution.
12. See Article 366 (25): "Scheduled Tribes" means such tribes or tribal communities, or parts of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purposes of this Constitution.

13. All India Reporter. 1963. *Supreme Court* 649.
14. All India Reporter. 1964. *Supreme Court* 1823.
15. All India Reporter. 1968. *Supreme Court* 1012.
16. All India Reporter. 1968. *Supreme Court* 1379.
17. All India Reporter. 1971. *Supreme Court* 2303.
18. All India Reporter. 1976. *Supreme Court* 2381.
19. All India Reporter. 1976. *Supreme Court* 490.
20. All India Reporter. 1985 Supp. *Supreme Court* 714.
21. Powar, K.B. 1996. Assuring equity and quality in mass higher education: The Indian context. *University News*, May 27, 3.
22. Powar, 4.
23. All India Reporter. 1951. *Supreme Court* 226.
24. See also B. Swaramayya 1984. *Inequalities and the Law*. Eastern Book Co., 32-63.
25. *State of M.P. v. Nivedita jain*, (1981) 4 *Supreme Court* 296.
26. See also Maheshwari, S.R. 1991. *The Mandal Commission and mandalisation – A critique*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company. Chapter 2.
27. See University Grants Commission, *Annual Report* (1995-96).
28. See note 3, 61.
29. Hindustan Times. 25 December 1996. (Delhi Edition), 1.
30. University Grants Commission Records.

Appendix

PARTICIPANTS AT THE TRI-NATIONAL SEMINAR IN INDIA

January, 1997

Delegates and Guests from India

Justice P.N. Bhagwati
*Retired Chief Justice of the
Supreme Court of India*

Dr. E.S. Charles
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Appendix

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Mr. Molebaleng Mashego
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Universities

A View From Three Nations

In free societies throughout the world, diversity is testing the capacity of democracy to mediate difference. Ancient social divisions, newly politicized, undermine democratic aspirations to social equality. Newcomers are resisted. The advocates of inclusion contend with the priorities of traditional privilege.

In January, 1997, delegates from India, South Africa, and the United States met in India to compare the experiences of their countries in responding to the special challenge and opportunity diversity offers to higher education. This volume presents their papers and describes their reflections. It places the priorities of the respective countries in historical perspective, and illuminates similarities and contrasts among them.

The volume contributes to the growing global discourse on the role of higher education in strengthening democracy.

Edgar F. Beckham